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CHARLES POMEAU.

THE

WORKS

OF

CHARLES FOLLEN,

WITH A

MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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LIFE

OF

CHARLES FOLLEN.

LIFE

OF

CHARLES FOLLEN.

CHAPTER I.

His Birth. — Death of his Mother. — His Father's Second Marriage. — Admission to the College and University at Giessen. — Joins the Army as a Volunteer. — Returns home.

CHARLES THEODORE CHRISTIAN FOLLEN was the second son of Christopher Follen, counsellor at law and judge, first at Giessen, and then at Friedberg in Hesse-Darmstadt. He was born on the 4th of September, 1796, at the residence of his paternal grandfather in Romrod, whither, on account of the neighbourhood of the French army to Giessen, his mother had gone previously to his birth, as this place was situated in a retired and mountainous region, where it was not probable that any disturbance would occur. It so happened, however, that General Jourdan, in a rapid retreat from the peasants of Spessart, passed through the village of Romrod; and, just as the ceremony of christening Charles had commenced, the hitherto quiet house was suddenly filled with a troop of French soldiers, with General Jourdan at their head. His mother was very weak, but fortu-

nately the disturbance did not last long; and, owing to the judicious conduct of his grandfather, quiet was soon restored, and no evil consequences ensued.

Charles was hardly three years old when his mother died. She was a gentle lady, full of loveliness, and endowed with the most excellent qualities of mind and heart. She left four children, three sons and a daughter. The eldest, Augustus, was sent, after the death of his mother, to Wetzlar, to his maternal grandfather; Louisa and Paul to their grandfather at Romrod, while Charles alone remained with his father at Giessen. Although he was so young a child at the time of his mother's death, he had some perception of the great calamity that had befallen him. He remembered, he said, his great delight in standing by the side of his mother at her looking-glass, and seeing her put pink ribbons in her hair, and how beautiful he thought they looked there. He well recollected his pleasure on her taking him and his brother by the hand, and dancing round the room with them, and singing to them. Thus his first ideas of beauty and pleasure were associated with the thought of his mother; so, alas! were his first ideas of sorrow; for he well remembered one sad day, when he sat all alone upon the great old-fashioned stairs, feeling as if he were forgotten, and no one of those who passed up and down spoke a word to him, and he heard a bell toll, and felt that something very sorrowful, but he knew not what, had happened, and he cried, he knew not why.

Charles and his father, with a faithful old woman

who had lived in the Follen family, as a servant, for twenty-two years, now formed the whole household at Giessen. Thus they remained, for some time, in undisturbed solitude and quiet.

It was during this period, that the strict and tender union commenced between Charles and his father, which lasted through life, and which combined all the holiness of a natural affection with all the peculiar pleasures of a tender friendship. Although his father was a counsellor, and had frequently affairs to attend to that required deep consideration, he always had Charles with him in his study. He was of a very excitable temperament, and at times was even irascible; but towards Charles he was generally as forbearing and gentle as he was just. He would assist him in all his childish games, and, with an almost incredible patience, suffer himself to be interrupted by him, without appearing to be disturbed. He has told me, that he remembered stretching wires across every part of his father's study, and suspending little bells upon them of different tones, with which he would try to make a tune, and that his father would stoop under them when he went in and out of the room, and make no complaint, not even of the noise. This tender, this unlimited indulgence established a peculiar feeling of intimacy and of confiding love between him and his father, such as few boys are blessed with. An anecdote, related by his sister Louisa in a letter to me, shows the nature of the friendship that existed between them. She says, "Our father was in every thing

excellent and worthy, excepting his temper. Charles was his favorite, yet he was sometimes impatient with him. I well remember once, when my father angrily punished Charles for some fault he had committed, that the dear boy came up to him, and, extending his hand, said, 'Father, I forgive you.' The anger of his father, as his teacher, seemed to him of more importance than his own fault."

Charles was a little more than seven years old, when his father, in 1804, married again. This connexion was an incalculable blessing to the whole family. They were now all gathered together again under the same roof, in their father's house, and under the care of a devoted mother. Charles always spoke of her with a sincere and deep love and respect; and he seems from the first to have been an object of peculiar interest to her. She says, in a letter to me,

"The mode of life, in which Charles had been educated, had entirely separated him from all intercourse with children. He soon became accustomed to the society of his brothers and sisters; but it was very annoying to him if another child got possession of any of his playthings, because he had never been used to see any one touch them. In order to break up this habit, his father often asked him for something, which he now and then refused to surrender. One day his father insisted upon his giving up a little cane of which he was very fond. Charles said to him, 'You are a very good father; what you have you give to me, and what I have I keep.'

"He very soon became familiar with me, and, as

he had not yet received any instruction, I took particular charge of him, for he was more than seven years old, and instruction was now very necessary for him. We took care, in the outset, that this should be light and easy ; for he was so distressed at his ignorance, and at the thought that he could not learn, that I was obliged, at first, to console and encourage him. For a time I assisted him in his studies ; but ere long his reason and perceptive faculties were developed in a remarkable degree, and that steady industry, so characteristic of him, soon appeared, so that he mounted from class to class in his school, and was often obliged to remain below, only because his age would not allow him to go higher ; and he soon secured the entire love of his teachers and fellow-pupils."

These circumstances account in a measure for the fact, that Dr. Follen's recollections of his childhood were not particularly happy. He has told me, that he did not, in his childhood, fully sympathize with boys, and had not a true relish for the common pleasures of children. He was often laughed at by them for his little peculiarities ; and even his father and elder brother would banter him upon them occasionally. This, he said, annoyed him exceedingly. He was too proud to confess how much he suffered, and he knew that there was no intention to hurt him ; but it was painful for him to remember the violent fits of anger and grief that he endured in consequence of these trials. He has told me, that he often wished himself dead, from his desire to escape this suffering ;

and it was only by great and constant effort, that he at last acquired that perfect self-control, which was a distinguishing trait of his character. He had, when he was a child, rather delicate health. He was naturally very timid. He has told me, that he remembered suffering very much from fear. He had a great dread of passing a grave-yard after dark; but he soon resolved to conquer this weakness, and he forced himself to go often to this place of terrors, and remain there till he had subdued his fears. His courage was thus the result of effort and experience. He became truly fearless.

Another source of suffering to him, in his early days, was a tormenting desire to understand many things of which he could obtain no satisfactory explanation; he remembered often lying awake with some puzzling question in his mind, till he would at last get up, and go into his father's room, and perhaps wake him up to beg him to satisfy his eager curiosity. His father would sometimes call him a foolish boy, and send him to bed again; and this always grieved him.

He said there was an unnatural seriousness and earnestness in his character, when he was a child, and that it was not till he was a man, that he could learn to relish a jest.

The sudden death of his little brother Herman, who died of the croup, made a very deep impression upon his mind. He remembered some affecting traits in his character, though he was only a child when he died.

Dr. Follen was often amused at the recollection of his own childish simplicity when he was a boy. He said, that he and his eldest brother once wrote a poem together upon their father's birth-day. They were so afraid that their father, who was an early riser, should be up, and go to his office, before they could recite the poem to him, that they were awake all night, and kept stealing softly into his chamber to see if it were time to wake him. Their mother had repeatedly sent them back; but at last, just before day-break, perhaps desiring some sleep herself, she consented to his being waked. It was still dark. The young speaker had not perfectly committed the lines to memory, and so one of the boys held the light while the other read the address. Their father had forgotten that it was his birth-day, and, when he saw the two boys, in their night dresses, standing by his bedside, one holding a lantern while the other read verses to him, the whole affair appeared so strange, and withal so comic, to him, that, half laughing and half scolding, he told them both to go to bed and go to sleep, without appearing at all delighted with this poetical effusion of their filial love. It was not till many years after, that Charles could think of this adventure without the most serious feelings of disappointment. One of the pleasures of his boyhood, that he loved best to remember, was the Christmas-tree, which, in his father's family, as is almost the universal custom in Germany, was prepared every Christmas eve for the children. He well remembered, he has told me, his joy, when he saw the pretty, well-

proportioned evergreen tree carried into the drawing-room, into which, after that time, no child was to enter unbidden, and the holy mystery with which it was invested. He loved to recollect with what a believing heart he listened to the pious fiction, that the child Jesus would come, on Christmas-eve, and hang beautiful presents and ornaments upon it for good children. Memory brought back to him the magic sound, like distant music, of the little bell, when his father rang it as a signal that they might enter the consecrated apartment. Even then, when he spoke of it, his heart beat quicker, as he remembered the eagerness with which he sought for his own name upon some of the beautiful things that were suspended upon the illuminated branches of the Christmas-tree.

Charles had been baptized in the Lutheran church, and was educated without any reference to sectarian opinions. He early showed a deep interest in the subject of religion, and formed decided opinions for himself. His mother, in speaking of his early religious character, says,

"The opinions and principles of the Unitarians filled even then his whole soul, and he spake about them (though not often) to his father, who fully agreed with him on this subject, with such depth of feeling and eloquence, that I seemed to see the image of our Saviour, as he taught in the temple in his twelfth year. He was a true student. He was hardly a moment out of our sight, and I was enabled to observe his whole conduct and pursuits; industry,

virtue, and good manners were his most prominent traits of character, and his friends, who were numerous, had the same inclinations and the same qualities. They would assemble daily in our courtyard to exercise in gymnastics, and then they would go up to Charles's large chamber, and, seating themselves in a circle, sing a hymn, often 'Ein' feste Burg,' and afterwards regale themselves with a glass of water, never any thing else. We congratulated ourselves upon having such a son."

Charles was very fond of going, in his vacations, to Romrod. His grandfather, who was rather an austere man, and occasionally very violent in his temper, was always gentle and kind to him, and his grandmother was very indulgent, although her little favors to the children were bestowed in secret. They were sent to bed before the ample supper, which was prepared for their elders, appeared; but their grandmother would often steal up stairs, and carry them some of the good things to eat in their beds. Charles's grandfather was superintendent of the forests of the Duke. He lived in a grand old house, where the Duke was expected occasionally to visit upon his hunting expeditions. The boys, during their visits in the vacations, slept in the Duke's bed under a coronet. Their grandfather's table was always loaded with game, for that was one of the privileges of his office. He kept open house; and all around him was comparatively magnificent. But these things, child as he was, had no great charms for Charles. A little brook, that ran behind his

grandfather's garden, where he fished for hours, even for whole days, was dearer to him than all other things there.

It was there, doubtless, that many of his young thoughts grew up into their just proportions; there, also, sprang up many of his noble and generous purposes, to be blighted in this world for a time, but, as he ever hoped, and as we will hope, not utterly and for ever. I have often heard him say, "How I should love to visit, once more, that little brook at Romrod, where I have passed so many happy hours." His father's garden at Giessen was a source of great pleasure to Charles. He loved, he said, to follow his father into his garden, and watch him as he was pruning his trees and shrubs, and talk with him, at these times, upon interesting subjects, and observe his father's pleasure at the fine fruit he raised. He was fond of expatiating upon his father's talent in conversation, and his faculty in story-telling; but, more than all things, he loved to speak of his rigid justice, which no flattery could move, no advantage to himself could bribe, and no danger intimidate; of his noble generosity, his courage, and his transparent purity. It was a tender, though melancholy pleasure to him to speak of his family. A song, which his sister Louisa composed for her guitar, he often sang.

As he grew older, a peculiar intimacy was formed between him and his eldest brother Augustus. They were in the habit of writing poetry together. There was a close union of taste and feeling between them,

as well as of opinion. He thought very highly of his brother's genius; and there gradually grew up a strict and tender friendship between them, which continued unabated in after life.

Charles received his elementary education at the college (Pedagogium) of Giessen. Here he studied the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and the French and Italian languages. After having obtained many prizes for literary labors, and passed the regular examination, he received permission to enter the university of Giessen. This was in the spring of 1813. He was then not seventeen years of age. He immediately devoted himself to jurisprudence.

Among the teachers of the college, there was none who had so much influence upon the early developement of the faculties of Charles Follen, as Gottlieb Welcker, a friend of his family, who was at that time professor in the college and in the university of Giessen, and afterward professor of ancient literature at Gottingen, and then at Bonn.*

It was soon after he entered the university, that Germany declared war against France. The spirit of freedom had revived among the people, who were still under the galling yoke of Napoleon. They were exhausted by his taxes; they had been forced to fight his battles, and thus rivet their own chains; and, when they heard of his defeat in Russia, they awoke from their apparent lethargy, and resolved to throw

* On coming to America, Dr. Follen brought letters from this gentleman to Professor Ticknor and Professor Everett.

off the degrading fetters they had worn so long. From the moment of their subjection, slowly and silently, but surely, a spirit of resistance had been at work under the apparently quiet state of things. Soon after the disgraceful peace of Tilsit in 1807, in which the king of Prussia was obliged to cede one half of his territory in order to secure the other, the Tugendbund (Union of Virtue) was formed by some patriots, whose purpose it was to promote the moral regeneration of the people, and thus prepare them for a better state of things. Schools and universities, physical and moral science, the army, the government, the distresses of the people, all occupied the attention of this society, which suggested many plans of reform that were afterwards adopted. The society received the patronage of the Prussian government, till the king was obliged, by Napoleon, to abolish it. Perhaps no individual did more towards rousing the German youth to a sense of their inalienable rights as men, than Frederick Lewis Jahn, the author of the modern system of Gymnastics. He opposed, in the universities, the Landsmannschaften, those sectional unions, which he saw interfered with that enlarged love of their whole country, which was essential to a union for the common good. His object was to produce a manly character in the German youth by means of a thorough physical education, and thus prepare them for a successful struggle against their oppressors. A countryman of Jahn, in a little book, to which we shall again refer, says,

"Jahn inquired into the sources and reasons of

the perverseness and unnatural life of the German youth. He found in the history of the nation the springs of whatever was most noble and beautiful that a nation can boast of, but he also found, that these buds of promise had not been unfolded or cherished in public life; its system of laws had been supplanted by a foreign one; its freedom had been undermined and shaken; even its language, morals, and customs had received a foreign varnish.

"His attention was soon turned towards the means of removing the evils under which his countrymen languished, and he believed they were only to be found in the education of the youth. Much had been done for education within the last fifty years. Pestalozzi's efforts and ideas necessarily interested him above all others; but they could not satisfy him. Jahn's soul took up these ideas from a higher point; the whole youth, the whole people, must at once be taken hold of and brought to these views.

"Out of this great idea arose his 'Teutsches Volksthum,' ('German Nationality,') a work written in language, which, in richness, power, and depth, can be compared to no other. In this, Jahn drew, with a firm and masterly hand, all the features of the purest, noblest humanity, as it had manifested itself in the strong and tender character of the German people at all times, and pointed out the means for the preservation and further progress of their character. Through the whole work, there breathes a holy love for the people and his father-land, for virtue and honor, for truth and justice.

"Jahn troubled himself but little whether the people understood this powerful call. Almost at the same time with the appearance of his 'Volksthum,' he entered actively himself into the education of youth. Altogether independent and undisturbed, he commenced his work in sport; he began to practise gymnastics with a few boys in Berlin in 1808. The times, which were agitated by great events, conspired with his efforts; men, at whose heart lay the good of their country, helped him in every way. The German people was to be waked from its slumber; it had to learn to feel its own power, that it might again be free."

Jahn established his first regular gymnasium at Berlin in 1811. Here no French was allowed to be spoken. National songs were sung, and every effort was made by him to make the gymnasia, which he superintended, nurseries of patriotism. They spread rapidly through the whole country; they were patronized and encouraged by the governments. The royal family often attended to witness the exercises, and Jahn received a high salary and every encouragement of his labors. The result of these efforts and the actual state of feeling were manifested in Prussia, when the king issued an edict, just after the defeat of Napoleon in Russia, commanding every man, capable of bearing arms, to enlist as a soldier, and be ready to march when called upon by his commander. No explanation was given of the purpose of this great levy of troops; but every one, even the children, knew what was its object; it seemed only an ex-

pression of the existing will of the people. Besides this patriotic training of the flower of the German youth in the gymnasia, another powerful means had been adopted to prepare the whole people to rise in defence of their liberties. One of the stipulations of the peace of Tilsit restricted the standing army of Prussia to forty thousand men. General Scharnhorst, the founder of the new military system of Prussia, in order to escape the effects of this stipulation, made levies in succession, each being dismissed as soon as trained. Thus an army of disciplined troops could be collected at a moment's warning ; so that, when war was openly declared, the nation was all prepared for the contest. The students in the universities enlisted in the army as volunteers, the women contributed their jewels and valuable trinkets, and even the children put their small but precious stores into the public treasury.*

The signal defeat of Napoleon at Leipsic was hailed with grateful enthusiasm throughout Germany. Charles and his elder brother joined a volunteer corps of riflemen. When they told their father that they had enlisted, he replied, "If you had not done so, I should not have acknowledged you as my sons." His youngest son, Paul, who was but fourteen years old, wished to enlist, but his father opposed his desire

* A true and touching anecdote, showing the extent and power of this patriotic feeling, is the foundation of the story of "The German Girl," which Dr. Follen wrote for children, and which was printed in "The Well-Spent Hour."

on account of his extreme youth. He, however, joined the troops of the line without the knowledge of his father, who, after a time, became reconciled to it.

The corps of riflemen, in which the elder Follens enlisted, consisted mostly of students. They wore no uniform, but retained their usual student's dress. They went to battle for their dearest rights, freely and from choice ; they went as men, as citizens, not as hired soldiers ; there was a noble, generous enthusiam, a spirit of self-sacrifice, a religious sense of duty, among the volunteers, which gave a dignity and solemn grandeur to this national struggle for freedom.

A few weeks after he left home, Charles was seized, at Darmstadt, with a very severe typhus fever. Fortunately he had there some kind relatives, who took him to their house, and rendered him every possible care and attention. His life was despaired of. For a long time he was unconscious of any thing around him ; but, by the aid of an excellent physician and his strong constitution, he at last recovered. It was the prince's physician, who visited him of his own accord, out of respect to his character. When he came to himself, he was in a state of utter imbecility ; his memory was gone ; he could not read his own or any other language ; he wept at the slightest thing like a child. But in about six weeks afterwards he was able to join his brother at Lyons.

The success of this war of independence, as it was called, and the history of the entire expulsion of the French, and of the other important events of this period, are all well known. Charles Follen was

never in any actual engagement, and nothing further, that was remarkable, occurred to him during the campaign. One little anecdote I have heard him relate, which is somewhat characteristic. One day, after a march of twelve miles, he found that he had left his watch at the place where he had slept the night before. It was a silver watch, and of no great value; but it had been his father's, and he had given it to him. He immediately requested leave of the commanding officer to return for it. Not being able to obtain a horse, he walked back to the place, got his watch, and, without stopping, returned so as to overtake his comrades at their encampment for the night; thus walking twenty-four miles, in addition to the common day's march, rather than risk the loss of a token of love from his father. He and his brothers returned to Giessen at the conclusion of the peace in 1814. He thought that he gained much valuable knowledge of human nature during this campaign. Many desires and purposes, which had sprung up in his mind in his early boyhood, and which had been gaining strength and consistency till he entered the army, were now matured, and had become fixed principles of action; and he returned home better prepared for the eventful life which lay before him.

It may well be supposed, that the anxious hearts of their tender parents were greatly rejoiced at seeing all their sons return safe, and in good health, from the perils of war. Paul had won military honors. At one time, when a fortification was to be stormed, the enterprise was thought so dangerous, that the

commander called for volunteers to undertake it. Paul was the first to step forth and offer to lead the attack; others joined him. He was the first to enter the redoubt. The post was taken; and Paul, in presence of the whole army, received the reward of his bravery from the commanding officer.

Nothing could be more beautiful than the generous enthusiasm and self-devotion of the German youth in the cause of their country at this time. The touching and inspiring story of the life and death of Theodore Körner, who fell in a skirmish near Rosenberg, might serve as the embodied representation of the spirit which animated the whole German youth, who freely and cheerfully had hastened to lay the budding honors of early genius, the dearest hopes of prosperous love, and all their mysterious longings and boundless anticipations of earthly joy, upon the altar of their country's weal. They had all, like him, stood ready to be sacrificed in her cause. Some beautiful lines on the death of Körner, adapted to the *Stabat mater*, a sublime old Catholic tune, were written at this time by Charles Follen. This poem, and some others that he wrote at this most exciting period of his life, are appended to the present volume.

The students, who had been volunteers in the army, returned to their various universities with a new ardor for their studies. Augustus Follen remained for a time at home, but subsequently went to Heidelberg. Charles returned to the study of jurisprudence at the university of Giessen.

CHAPTER II.

Efforts to establish a Burschenschaft. — Condition of the Universities. — Opposition of the Landsmannschaften.

From this period we may date the history of his public life. Now it was that he commenced that systematic pursuit of a great purpose, which had for its ultimate object the political, moral, and religious reform of the German people. From his earliest youth, when but a boy of twelve years of age, he had dwelt upon the idea of a state of society, in which every man, through his own free effort, should make himself a true image of Jesus ; and had thought that thus the foundation would be laid for a reformation which should have no limit. All tyranny he considered sin. Every one, he thought, was bound to resist it, but first within his own breast ; for it was his creed, that no man is a free man who is the slave of any passion ; no man is free who fears death ; none but the believer in immortality can be truly free. He believed, that every one could resemble Jesus in every thing but his miraculous powers, and that nothing short of Christ-like perfection should satisfy us. After having subdued the enemy within, he thought every one bound to resist, as far as he was able, all

unjust dominion wherever he encountered it, beginning in the circle in which he happened to be placed, and extending his efforts as his powers and opportunities enlarged. He believed, that much might be done for Germany by a reformation, founded on these principles, and commenced in the universities by its hopeful youth. He thought every man, who should act from these convictions, would find himself possessed of an incalculable power, and might of himself produce an immeasurable effect. He early began his practical illustration of his theory by a life of purity and devotion to duty. He became a freeman according to his own idea of a freeman, and thus consecrated himself to the work of a reformer by a perfect subjection of himself to the law of justice and universal brotherhood, as taught by Jesus.

Such were the principles and purposes that filled the soul of Charles Follen when he returned to the university. But, before proceeding in the narration of his success and failures, a few words upon the subject of the German universities may not be amiss; and to some of my readers an explanation of some of the terms, used in speaking of German students, will not be unacceptable.*

In the early history of the German universities, the buildings, in which the students, especially the poorer ones, lived together, paying only a small rent for their lodgings, were called *bursæ*. The term

* This account is mostly taken from the "Conversations-Lexicon."

bursæ was also applied to certain boarding-houses established by the professors. Those, who lived in such *bursæ*, were called *bursarii*; hence the German word *bursche* for a student. The first teachers in the ancient universities were not paid by the government; but were supported entirely by fees received from the students. A teacher of high reputation could then acquire wealth, as the number of students was large.

The *bursæ* degenerated after a time. Some of them were not charitable institutions, and the students had to pay a fee to the person, whose duty it was to superintend their conduct. These superintendents often allowed their wards to indulge in all kinds of vices, in order to obtain many students. When the Reformation broke out, its regenerating power was felt in the literary institutions. The students saw the corruption of the *bursæ*, and elected their own superintendents, to each of whom was committed the charge of the students coming from a particular district or part of Germany. Thus the Landsmannschaften (countrymanships) originated. These, also, degenerated. All the students divided themselves into *schorists* (preceptors) and *pennale* (pen-cases). The latter were abused by the former, and, when they succeeded to their places, abused those who came after them. This lasted over a hundred years. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, originated the orders. The chief of the orders were called *seniors*. They formed certain rules for the government of all the students, which were called *com-*

ments. These, in their turn, degenerated. New Landsmannschaften were created to oppose them. They were guided by very false notions of honor; arbitrary laws were enforced; duels took the place of arguments; the few tyrannized over the many. These abuses continued unquestioned till about the time of the war of independence, when the general conviction, that Germany ought to be united against the common enemy, inspired all classes with a feeling of patriotism, and a desire to throw off all narrow sectional feelings, and to unite for the general welfare. Many of those, who had fought and bled for their common country, when they returned, after the war, to their respective universities, felt, more than ever, the petty and selfish character of the Landsmannschaften, and there was a general movement for the purpose of establishing a true Burschenschaft, or union of all the students, irrespective of the particular German territory from whence they came.

Such was the state of things, when Charles Follen returned to Giessen, with the determination to consecrate himself anew to the holy work to which he had so early dedicated himself. He was, as has been stated, faithful to his purpose of commencing his life of reform with himself. He was exemplary in his devotion to study; he was pure and upright in all his actions; so careful of the rights of others, and so free from all blemish himself, that even the malicious and the envious could not find aught against him. He exercised a power that was felt by all. He had perfected himself in all manly exercises. He was

a skilful gymnast; he was master of the broadsword, and a powerful swimmer.

Charles immediately took a zealous and active part in aid of those who wished to form a union of all the students, a true Burschenschaft, and who wished to put down the Landsmannschaften, which, as we have seen, were mere sectional unions, and whose influence was so hurtful in the university. Nothing could exceed the arbitrary character of the laws of this self-constituted government. A poor student, who should dare to resist, was insulted and proscribed, not only in his own university, but throughout Germany; for the decision of one university against him was binding upon all others. Duels were their only arguments, and might the only acknowledged right. The injurious influence of such a state of things could hardly be calculated.

The leaders of the Landsmannschaften, who saw their power in danger, made a violent resistance to the efforts of those who desired to establish a better state of things, and all their leaders became peculiarly obnoxious to them. Charles Follen had many enemies. His mother, in giving me her recollections of this period, says, "In consequence of his exertions to introduce discipline, good morals, and industry among the students, which were obnoxious to the greater number, he drew upon himself the hatred of the bad and the ill-disposed, as is always the case."

It was seldom that he was willing to speak of his early life, so many painful thoughts did it recall;

but occasionally he would relate his contests with some of the petty tyrants of his university, who were in almost deadly opposition to him. They were in the habit of domineering, in a very tyrannical manner, over those whom some unfortunate circumstance had placed in their power. Charles Follen ever took the part of the weak and the oppressed, and, of course, he was hated by their oppressors. He was often challenged, and called upon to use his sword against these bullies; but he has told me, that he never used it in a purely personal quarrel. He was skilful in the management of the weapon, and was so calm and collected, that he almost always gained the victory, and never abused it. These duels with the broadsword seldom endangered life, and at that time he thought himself justifiable in occasionally using this means for the defence of truth and justice. It was one of his great purposes, too, and of the party of which he was a leader, to put a check to this evil and dangerous custom; but he thought, that, had he not shown the courage and power to defend himself by force of arms, he should not have had the same influence with his fellow-students in urging other and more moral means for the settlement of differences; he could not even have remained in the university.

He took a most active part with other members of the Burschenshaft in the formation and establishment of a court of honor among themselves, that should be empowered to settle all differences among them according to the rules of morality and justice. This was

called the Ehrenspiegel, or Mirror of Honor. Their decisions were to be binding upon the students; and thus they hoped to check, not only this bad practice of duelling, but many other evils from which they suffered. The great idea of a Christian brotherhood, to be first formed in the universities, and afterwards to be spread over all Germany, fired the hopeful and aspiring soul of Charles Follen. He met with violent opposition. He, and those who were of his opinion, and cherished the same purposes, were nicknamed and insulted by the Landsmannschaften. They were called Old Schwartzen, (Old Blacks,) from the color of their academic coats. Great stories were told of their revolutionary purposes, and at last they were accused, to the rector, of treasonable acts. But it was not in the universities alone, that this spirit of freedom was watched with a jealous eye. The governors of the land, as well as the petty tyrants in the universities, were alarmed when they saw that the spirit of freedom, which had led to the war of independence, and enabled them to throw off a foreign yoke, was not like a powerful but docile mastiff, that lies quietly down to sleep again when he has done his master's bidding; but, on the contrary, dared to think, and feel, and act, for some higher and more enduring purpose. While the princes wanted strong and active and devoted soldiers, they encouraged all the movements for freedom; they patronized the gymnasia; but, when they found, that in these schools the principles of universal freedom were taught, they looked upon them with suspicion. "Jahn had re-opened his gym-

nasia. They found, that he was breathing his free spirit into all whom he taught, that the thought which occupied his life was passing into the lives of the youth he collected around him, and even more by example than by precept. They feared the influence of the motto he adopted for himself and his pupils: 'Frisch, frei, fröhlich, und fromm'; 'Strong, free, joyful, and pious'; through the realization of which he strove to gain an independence that should be worthy of admiration."

Soon all his schools were closed by order of government, and he was imprisoned. They had made promises to the people of a free representative form of government in their hour of danger, but, now that the peril had passed, they found it expedient to forget their promises, all save the Duke of Saxe-Weimar; he had redeemed his princely word. So in the university, when it was essential to the salvation of the country, that a true and enlarged patriotism should unite them, as one man, for their common country, they favored the idea of a true Burschenschaft that should bind them all together like a band of brothers; but, now that there was no outward enemy to fear, they were displeased with all those in the university who recognised the great truth of the inalienable rights of every human being. They trembled at the thought, that the law of justice and equity, and the rights of man, should prevail through the land, and dreaded and hated him who taught such dangerous and incendiary doctrines.

The friends of freedom and justice in the universi-

ty of Giessen could not, under these circumstances, be astonished, when they heard that they had been accused, to the government, of revolutionary designs. The rector was, in consequence, called upon by his office to make an investigation into the charges against some of the students, particularly the adherents of the Ehrenspiegel. As soon as the accused ascertained that this was the case, they made a statement of facts, put all the records of their meetings into the hands of the rector, and challenged an investigation of all their purposes and actions. The trial and examination proved them innocent of any violation of the laws of the land or of the university.

Some months afterwards, Charles Follen published a pamphlet, called "Geschichte der Christlich-teutschen Burschenschaft zu Giessen," (History of the Christian German Burschenschaft at Giessen,) giving an account, from the records, of all that had passed upon the subject. I am aware, that many may say, what is very true, that this is but one side of the story, and that honest men took a different view of the questions at issue among the students at Giessen; but all will be sure, that this is a strictly fair account of facts, as they appeared to him, or it would not have been given to the public by Charles Follen. Neither is this to be taken as an exact representation of the state of things in all the universities in Germany. It is to be valued simply as a history of an important part of his life. To some readers it may be thought dry and uninteresting; such may easily pass it over.

I give the whole of the Preface, which was written by the editor, and such extracts as seem necessary to make the whole case clear, as it is there represented.

"*Preface.*

"The history, which is here related, is taken with exact truth, partly from the journals of many students who were pursuing their studies during these events at Giessen, and partly faithfully collected from other sources.

"In the midst of a time, when local divisions and an oppressive system of rank were wasting, by angry collisions, the free power of individuals and of the whole community, like an acrid poison corroding the sound body of the Burschenschaft, there arose, among the students of Giessen, the idea of a Christian German Republic, where the officers should be completely on a level with all the others, and where the will of the whole, obtained by a free general discussion in assemblies open to all, should rule in the concerns of the students, and where, in the close union of all their youthful powers, in their manners and conduct, and in public sentiment, an earnest, patriotic effort, a striving after learning and physical culture, and for freedom as citizens, should be unfolded.

"On the battle-field of Leipsic, where the cross sword of liberty did holy justice on violence and wrong, and where, henceforward, a great iron cross adorns the hero-breast of the great Father-land, there awoke a spirit, which, in the great whole, as in each separate university of our country, strives and will

strive, till all be accomplished, till, in the people, the ideal of humanity is glorified.

" Take these pages, be earnest, and be thoughtful of what has happened, and of what must happen. Pray, think, and act for your Father-land."

The pamphlet begins with a short sketch of the early history of the universities, and of the origin of the prevailing abuses, and goes on to say ;

" This was the state of the German students, when the Christian German effort for liberty, the national spirit, arose out of the storms of the late period, when the German youth, full of sacred enthusiasm, brought their first offerings to their country. This new and true spirit of a student's life was manifested in many universities, and, after sweeping away the old, smouldering ashes, was springing up in a purer flame.

" This same spirit was also in action in the university of Giessen, just after the Hessian volunteers had returned from their first campaign against the French. But unlooked for difficulties, from within and from without, soon arose. The old, exclusive spirit, political distinctions, rank given to age, and the Comment, selfish and low attempts of all sorts, pressed in again, and all union among the students was destroyed by hostile separations and the revival of old enmities.

" Many students, however, who were spiritually united by the same striving after Christian and national progress, went steadily on to the attainment of this

object in friendly union. An examination, which was afterwards made into this union, especially in relation to its political objects, manifested that in this society there was nothing of show-work, or of formal life, but a true, inward, indissoluble bond, founded on conviction.

"Provincial and other distinctions no longer existed openly in the university. The ill treatment of one of the students by others caused several meetings of the students, in which the general indignation at such conduct was publicly expressed. In one of these meetings the authority of the Comment was expressly rejected, and, finally, some penalties were decreed by the assembly without reference to the Comment. Thus the whole body of the students had declared their determination to act freely as a body, and this was confirmed by the universal shout of the assembly, with which the meeting closed, 'Long live the free German Burschenstaat.'

"The motion for this union of the students was made towards the end of the summer of 1816, at a general meeting of the students, and was generally approved. 'The Landsmannschaft and all other associations leading to exclusiveness, as well as every distinction resting upon age as a student, birth, power, or customs injurious to the universal equality, shall be for ever banished, and, for the purpose of an unrestrained, progressive, and sure developement of the student's life, a free German Burschenstaat shall be established in each separate university, as well as throughout all Germany.'"

It seems, from the pamphlet, that this was accepted, unanimously and unconditionally, by all the students; and that all present, as an expression of their approval, joined in the cry, "Long live, in the university, liberty, equality, and union!" When, however, they began to form courts for the decision of affairs of honor, the rector, Professor Arens, who saw in this a movement for freedom which would be dangerous to the established state of things, put a stop to the proceedings.

The rector's prohibition was directed, in express words, only against the so-called Court of Inquisition and Demagogical Association, and even for this he had not the authority of the academic court. The decisions touching the abolition of political privileges, of rank arising from difference of age, and of the Comment, and also concerning the union of all the universities, were approved by the rector.

The situation of things remained unsettled and unsatisfactory among the students, many of them being unfaithful to their accepted resolution. Instead of union, party spirit sprung up, and the old difficulties still existed. There arose also innumerable duels, often carried on maliciously, and without any reasonable ground, as well as various other arbitrary and underhand acts.

This continued till the middle of the winter term, when Professor Balser was chosen rector. At last, on Christmas of the same year, 1816, to make an end of this ruinous state of things, a few students proposed, in open assembly, to bring forward, at the

end of the week, with the consent of the rector, a plan for a new court of honor for the whole university. At the same time, those who had this work at heart, were requested to collect the opinions of others, in order to have a general consultation and understanding on the subject, so that, from the whole, something might be produced in perfect accordance with the general will.

The same young men, who proposed this, assembled in small parties in each others' rooms, conversed with, and opened their minds to each other, and put the result of their conferences on paper, and then collected their different projects, and arranged them all in one, which they brought before the assembly of the students, at the time previously agreed upon, under the title of Ehrenspiegel, or Mirror of Honor.

At the meeting, a student rose and asked, "Who intends to speak at this time?" Another,* who was prepared to bring forward the project, replied, that he would lay before them the plan which had been before announced. The other asked, whether he spoke as an individual, or in the name of several, and whether, in the latter case, he spoke in the name of an association or not. He answered, "In the name of many, but of no association." Thereupon the first one declared, "There are here two constituted associations, Hassia and Constantia, and only these have a right to speak in this place." To this the other answered, "Let union in the universities be

* This was Charles Follen.

the object and the law, nothing of Landsmannschaften. We wish at least to make a trial, whether, in the plan we have formed, something better may not be offered than the Comment and exclusive associations." But these associations, with their adherents, left the meeting without listening to any thing.

To those who had not left the assembly the Ehrenspiegel was now read, and afterwards again, at various times, when alterations were made. At last it was adopted by about sixty students, who each acknowledged, by signing his name, his determination to adhere to its requisitions. These formed themselves into a Burschenschaft, and then invited all others, without reference to other associations, to join them in all their public meetings. The following extracts from the records show the general principles of the Ehrenspiegel.

"The relations of individual students to each other must be a relation of unconditional equality, without reference to any particular faith, country, or rank arising from age or family connexions. Honor ennobles at the university; but honor will be rendered to every one who is animated by a pure zeal for a learned and worthy education, by a holy devotion to the faith and the country to which he, with free conviction, adheres.

"No single department of art or science suffices us, and as little can a single mode of bodily exercise. Only a constant progress towards knowledge and truth, enlarged by friendly communion, united to a social, gymnastic developement of all the bodily

powers, can lead to a free harmony of one being, in parts as in the whole.

"Let the model of a Christian German Burschenschaft be our perpetual ideal! Let this elevated spirit of union fraternize the whole Burschenschaft into one republic and covenant of honor, which may form itself independently in each university, but yet each one as an image or part of the whole; strong in united action, ruled by a noble morality, springing from free conviction, and enlightened by public sentiment, which constitutes the conscience of this, as of every other republic."

The power of speaking in public, which soon became common in the assemblies, the love of freedom, and of its defenders towards each other, increased daily. False shame and presumption vanished before the growing spirit of union. The whole undertaking was in no way opposed to the laws of the university, with the exception of some of the decisions of the Ehrenspiegel in regard to duels. Yet these very decisions succeeded in gaining what had never been obtained by the severe punishments of the courts, for they destroyed, in the beginning, almost all the projected duels.

Information of these proceedings was not formally laid before the government of the university, although they were entirely public. The object was first to unite all the students, and especially to turn from their errors those who continued to strive for power, as the appointed lords and rulers in the universities. Among other proceedings was the following declara-

tion of the Christian German Burschenschaft to all the other students.

The first declaration of the Burschenschaft had in view the establishment of a system of justice and honor among all the students, including those who had not taken part in the cause of the Ehrenspiegel. This declaration was intended particularly for their real opponents, the Landsmannschaften; and contained, besides, an invitation to the public meetings, where every one had an equal right to speak; that so a general accommodation might be brought about, as soon as possible, by an exchange of opposing opinions. This accommodation was as follows:

"There can be no relation of honor without a relation of justice; consequently, every duel is mischievous or sinful, if it is ascertained that there is right on one side and injustice on the other, or a misunderstanding on both. But the ascertaining of the right requires a court, and among students it must necessarily be a court of arbitration. On this truth the general meeting ground their proposals to all who act by another law of honor.

"1st. Whether they wish to put an end to all duels, which have their origin in trifles or in injustice.

"2d. Whether they are willing, for this purpose, that, in all future affairs of honor, an equal number of students should be chosen from each party as arbitrators, with a leader chosen by each party, who,

"3d. Should make his decision, not according to any existing law of honor, but according to his best knowledge and conscience; and, where the right is

not apparent, should seek to bring about a reconciliation; and, if this also be vain, should oblige each party to give his word of honor, that he is right according to his own conviction, whereupon a knightly combat may prove, in each, his belief of the truth of what he has sworn to."

A union on these points was the more necessary, since, owing to the wide separations between the students, every private difference, unless it was immediately settled, gave food for party hate among the whole.

Upon this, there appeared, on the part of the opponents, the following answer to the Renonçen; (for so, in the usual language of the Landsmannschaften, those students were called, who were not members of any of the associations founded upon the Comment.)

"The constitution of the Representatives of Hassia and Constantia give the following answer to the proposals made by the students A. B. and N. N.

"1st. That the abovementioned associations are willing to grant to the Renonçen a share in the reform of the Comment, although the associations alone have the right of directing the affairs of the students. To this end, they may choose from students some who, on this occasion, may aid the association in the amendment of the Comment.

"2d. Those who have subscribed to the Ehrenspiegel can recognise it as a constitution, merely so far as it does not conflict with the Comment; and, in cases of collision with other students, they must recognise the Convention of the Representatives as the highest court.

"On these points the Convention will wait, at furthest till Saturday morning, for a precise answer.

"Giessen, 9th January, 1817.

"In the name of the Hassia, Signed.

In the name of the Constantia, Signed."

It is left to the reader to judge of this declaration.

There now appeared, as the decree of the public meeting of the students, the following declaration to all students.

"Giessen, January 11th, 1817.

"The assembled students, who have united to form a free Christian German community, declare, in conformity with their instructions, as follows:

"Towards the end of the last summer, at a time when no associations openly existed in the universities; when only the assembled students, as a body, passed judgment in affairs relative to themselves, the following articles were drawn up, by a member of their body, were proposed for examination to the assembled students, and were generally approved.

"All students, from the instant they enter the university, are free and equal among themselves; and have, so long as their honor is sustained, an equal right to all the privileges of freedom and honor that belong to a student's life; so that neither a difference of faith, of country, of rank, nor of the time of having been a student, shall be the ground of any difference.

"Therefore, all the old differences between Burschen, such as Brandern and Füchsen, as they op-

pose this universal freedom and equality, with all the arrangements and relations depending on them, even the differences of name, must be utterly abolished, so that all students shall be comprehended under the general name of Burschen.

"The assembly of all those students who are Christians and Germans, and who unite to form a free community, exercises, as the only association that justly has authority, all legislative and judicial power, in all the relations of the students to one another.

"Therefore, all associations in the universities, which, as Landsmannschaften, Kräntzchen, or under any name, arrogate to themselves a peculiar authority, and thereby oppose the establishing of equality and unity in the universities, must be entirely and for ever done away with.

"The first point to be acted upon, is the establishment of a court of honor, before which all questions of honor must in future be brought; and of a law of honor, or Ehrenspiegel, which must be the authority for all students, and especially for the court of honor.

"The old regulations of the Comment, in so far as they do not recognise the existence of the Landsmannschaften, and other associations no longer suited to our times, shall have the authority they have had heretofore till the formation of a new law of honor."

It seems, that the government made no objection to the real objects of this meeting. Those, who were convinced of the desirableness of this proposed reformation in the university, conferred together, and each one drew up a code of honor, according to his own

views ; and, after a thorough discussion of the various opinions, at the expiration of eight days a code of laws was adopted, as expressing the wishes of the Burschenschaft, and as a just result of the articles of agreement already exhibited. They agreed, that all those who took the Ehrenspiegel for a guide, accepted it not as an unchangeable law, resting on the power of individuals or of the whole body, but simply as the expression of their present conviction, which they were willing at any time to exchange for a better.

" It seems, that, at the meeting at which the Ehrenspiegel was offered, a part of the students withdrew, without regard to the earlier unanimous resolution, and divided into separate associations ; from the idea, as it was supposed, that a party was to be formed and party views were to be carried ; but the whole history of the new formation, the Ehrenspiegel itself, its comprehensiveness, the character of the public meetings, free and open to all honorable students, must convince every impartial judge, that we have been true to our first resolution, and have taken these steps, not that we might make our convictions, as such, the law, but that the right might prevail.

" But, that the purity of our intentions may appear more clearly, and that all divisions in the university may be destroyed, we ask those students, who think they ought to govern themselves by a different law, amicably to communicate their views. We wish that they would either propose them at our public meetings, or choose those who shall unite, with an equal number from among us, to consult for the common

good of the Burschenschaft, and especially to effect a union between the old Comment and the Ehrenspiegel. The result will prove, that we are as ready to sacrifice our own opinion to any better one, as we are to bid defiance to every opinion founded on mere authority or custom.

"In the interval, we offer again the articles of accommodation we have already proposed; on which, as well as on the present, we ask an immediate reply.

"Agreed to at a general meeting of the Burschenschaft."

This proposal was treated with insolent contempt by the Landsmannschaften, but the Burschenschaft still maintained a calm and dignified conduct towards them. Soon afterward there appeared the following:

"The general assembly of the students chooses five students, whose special duty it shall be to exhibit and explain the Ehrenspiegel. It shall also be the duty of these five to receive all reasonable propositions from other students for accomplishing a union of opinion in the university. These five shall seek to convince; if any error is pointed out in the Ehrenspiegel, it shall be their duty to lay it before the general meeting for examination, and for amendment, if necessary. This decree must be made known to the students in a body, without regard to any associations, which, from their nature, are opposed to our principles, and whose entire abolition has already been unanimously agreed upon.

"Giessen, January 18th, 1817. In general assembly."

But the Landsmannschaften strove obstinately for the Comment system; for their exclusive right to conduct the affairs of the students, and to exercise, by means of their assemblies, the highest jurisdiction.

In this spirit appeared, at length, the following decree of excommunication.

"In full assembly of the association of Hassia and Constantia, in accordance with the direction of the Comment, sentence of excommunication has been passed on those Renonçen named in the enclosure; inasmuch as, at several times, they have declared that they will no longer acknowledge the Comment.

"Giessen, January 20th, 1817."

To the Burschenschaft this condemnation appeared very ridiculous; but it was also a serious matter, inasmuch as, through it, the cause of the Ehrenspiegel would take the appearance of a party cause, in direct opposition to its very nature. All sorts of calumnies were spread against the adherents of the Ehrenspiegel, with the object of making them odious, as men dangerous to the state, as Jacobins. They were called Schwartz und Roth-mäntel (Black and Red Cloaks); and were accused of a desire to overthrow the existing sovereigns, and, as a preliminary step, of endeavouring to stir up the universities. The sentence of excommunication was transmitted to the other universities, together with a list of the proscribed, in order that any of them, who should chance to enter other universities, might be treated there as they were here; and with the most urgent warning to do every thing to stifle this black beginning of what threat-

ened to renew the terrors of the French revolution.

The effect of this communication is unknown, to the narrator, except that the students of Tübingen rejected it with indignation. The partisans of the associations, most of them, put the cockade of their own sovereign in their hats (a thing never before seen in Giessen); and, not only in the streets of Giessen the cry resounded, of "Black traitors! Black bandits!" but, even throughout Hesse, the most terrible reports were spread, so that many parents urgently insisted on their sons immediately leaving this dangerous place, which was preparing the destruction of their future fortunes. Many persons of consequence in Darmstadt and Giessen, especially, among the latter, Professor Arens, said, distinctly, that the adherents of the Ehrenspiegel were state traitors, who, with his consent, should never hold an office in the state.

Such rumors obliged the adherents of the Ehrenspiegel, as, in consequence of them the Burschen cause had become a criminal cause, to destroy these suspicions, to discontinue their meetings in the form hitherto used, and, giving up every thing external, to stand united in the bond of conviction only, in the living mirror of honor in the breast, as the tribunal of an inward law; but, with regard to externals, to recognise expressly the Senate and the statutes, as the only lawgiver.

It was necessary to accomplish this resolution on the spot; for, on the very evening of the day it was

passed, a happy chance discovered to the Ehrenspiegel a paper, in the hands of a leader of the Landsmannschaften, a traitor; a man, who, afterwards, banished as a cheat and branded by public opinion, was forced to leave the university. In this paper the friends of the Ehrenspiegel were directly denounced as guilty of high treason; and the rector was required, in virtue of his office, to make inquest, or he would come under suspicion of connivance.

The friends of the Ehrenspiegel immediately called a meeting, and drew up a memorial, which, with all the papers belonging to the association, they presented to the rector. Had they waited till the inquiry into their proceedings had commenced, or had they destroyed their papers, they would have been accused as a secret, forbidden association, and, on mere suspicion, would have been expelled.

The memorialists solemnly declared, that the object, of each one of the subscribers to the principles of the Ehrenspiegel was no other than this, to unite the whole body of the students; to the end, that the best convictions in morals and public opinion should be fully carried out in the university. It was further shown, that they had never united as a combination, as a party opposed to other parties, but always for a community; for freedom, equality, and unity, in the university.

The writer of the pamphlet states, "that the adherents of the Ehrenspiegel were unwillingly obliged, in vindicating themselves, to lay before the government the arbitrary and insulting conduct of the Landsmann-

schaften, who still continued to oppose them in every way. Some they endeavoured to induce by persuasion, others by flattery, to return to their allegiance to them and the Comment.

"The inquiry which followed was diligently, carefully, and impartially carried on, in the name of the Senate, by the rector, Professor Balser, and Professor von Löhr. It began with an inquiry into many culpable acts, which the opponents of the Ehrenspiegel had allowed themselves to commit against its friends; while the latter, true to their first intention, recognised in the others, not opponents of themselves, but of their good cause, and were themselves guilty of no culpable act. Some members of the Senate were sharp-sighted enough to recognise, in this very innocence, a proof of deep-rooted, dangerous designs. "The very fact," it was said, "that they no longer have Burschen feelings, proves them dangerous."

"A severe punishment was expected, in case the criminality of the combinations, and especially of individual members of them, was proved. The accusations against the friends of the Ehrenspiegel, of disaffection and conspiracy, were diligently inquired into. The charges against them by the members of the Landsmannschaften were, that they entertained treasonable purposes, which they artfully disguised; that they were connected secretly with a Volks und Freiheits Bunde (People and Freedom Union), spread throughout Germany, and that their purpose was to overthrow all existing institutions. They represented them as very dangerous men, even from their high morality,

which gave them weight and influence with the people. In consequence of this, inquiries were made for secret diplomas, meetings, &c., but without success. The entire groundlessness of the charges was made manifest, so as to brand the accusers as wicked slanderers.

"After these attempts of the members of the Landsmannschaft had failed, Professor Arens came forward in the Senate with two charges, which will be given here, because, as two important features in this examination, they spread a clear light over the whole.

" 'The first was directed against that member of the Burschenschaft, who, in the general meeting of the Burschen, at the end of the summer of 1816, mentioned above, had offered a plan for the removal of the disorders arising from the Comment, and for a commonwealth to be established in the universities.

" Professor Arens asserted, that the establishment of such an institution had been at that time forbidden, and that, as rector, he had particularly threatened the student, who proposed the plan, with expulsion, in case it was established; but that this prohibition had been openly transgressed by the formation of the Ehrenspiegel, and that, therefore, there would be no longer any justice in the world, if that student, at least, were not expelled.

" The latter declared to the court in reply, that all, which the then rector had at that time forbidden, had been scrupulously foreborne, namely, the foundation of a Frei-Staat (free state), to raise up demagogues and turbulent preachers of freedom. The remaining

resolutions, occasioned by that address, had been expressly approved by Professor Arens, and had been praised by him in the speaker's presence. The public and general councils every fortnight, which were then appointed, were discontinued agreeably to the rector's order.

"For truth's sake, it must be here observed, that some voices were raised, even in the Senate, successfully attacking this threat of expulsion as illegal and despotic.

"The next accusation of Professor Arens was founded on a conversation with an individual, from which Arens inferred, that the Ehrenspiegel was dangerous, because the good of the whole country was its declared object, rather than that of separate provinces. This conversation, contrary to his solemn promise, he made a ground of accusation.

"After an examination of from four to six weeks' length, notwithstanding many malicious and ill-natured attempts of their opposers, the perfect innocence of the Ehrenspiegel was established.

"Then followed a trial of those who had brought the accusations. They acknowledged that they had broken the laws of the university, but this was from anxiety for the interests of the Grand Duke; they were to be regarded as martyrs to their love of their prince. The whole thing appeared very clear to the academical Senate; nevertheless opinions were divided.

"But few defended the right; and even these were ignorant of the real object of the Ehrenspiegel. To

decide for the obviously unjust, could not be done, from respect to public opinion; to decide against it, however, and for the right, appeared dangerous for the *Gloria obsequa*. At last the Senate took courage, and decreed, by a majority of voices, that the adherents of the Ehrenspiegel were not guilty. The leaders of the Landsmannschaften, however, were punishable according to the laws.

"With this the power of the Senate seemed exhausted; they could not pass judgment against their own child. So the documents were gathered together, and sent to the ministry at Darmstadt. Only one requisition was made by the Senate; that the opposers of the Ehrenspiegel should appear before them, and renounce the Comment and their accusations. The friends of the Ehrenspiegel were admonished, that, although they had deserved credit for their moderation, and that, although their object in itself might be good, yet the result showed, that the carrying it out was not advisable.

"In this decision the Ehrenspiegel is treated as a forbidden association, as well as the Landsmannschaften, which was in no respect the case. As it conformed to the laws, the accusation could only refer to certain political views with which it was charged. It was political so far as all that is good in politics, and as the good of the country, was its object. The whole is cheerfully intrusted to such judges as inquire, with serious interest, into the condition of our German universities; who see, in the efforts of the German youth, not unmeaning sport, but the decision

of the great question, 'Death or life to the unhappy country.'"

There is appended to the pamphlet an account of all the particular statutes of the Ehrenspiegel, which were mostly drawn up by Charles Follen, and afterwards accepted by the whole. As they are, most of them, laws for the adjustment of differences, and as the principles, upon which these regulations were founded, are clearly set forth in what has already been quoted, I have not thought it best to give them a place here.

Prefixed to the statutes of the Ehrenspiegel, are the following lines by the editor.

"Der Gottheit Blitzstrahl, der aus finstrer Wolke
Aus dieser Sturmzeit, herrlich sich entzündet,
Die Liebe, die uns All' in Gott verbündet,
Als Gottes Stimm' im Menschen wie im Volke
Lebendig neu der Menschheit Urbild gründet,
Die durch den Heiland,
Die jezt und weiland
Uns durch so viel Blutzeugen ist verkündet,
Sie gibt das Feuer uns zum kühnen Handeln,
Das Licht, um frei der Wahrheit Bahn zu wandeln."

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

"The lightnings of God, from out of dark clouds,
Flash gloriously forth in this time of storms,
Love, which binds all together in God,
As his voice in each man and in nations,
Livingly new the image of manhood creates;
Which, through the Saviour,
Now and for ever,
Is shown forth by so many martyrs,
'T is this for bold deeds gives us ardor,
And light in the pathway of truth to walk freely."

CHAPTER III.

His Devotion to Study. — Receives his Degree at the University. — Lectures at Giessen. — Practises Law. — Studies the Deistical Writers. — Takes up the Cause of the Communities.

His zealous efforts for the attainment of his great object, the establishment of a Christian German Burschenschaft, which should be governed by principles of justice and a pure morality; and all the struggles and contentions and apparent failures, which followed, did not interfere with that faithful devotion to literary pursuits, which had hitherto distinguished Charles Follen among students. On the contrary, a more constant and regular attention to study was a part of the reform which he and his friends hoped to introduce into the *burschen-leben* (student's life). It was at this period, and during the war of independence, that he and his brother wrote many patriotic songs, some of them adapted to popular airs, and many set to music of their own composing. These are to be found in a little collection, called "Freie Stimmen frischer Jugend." "Free Voices of fresh Youth," published in Jena, in the year 1819, by Augustus (or, as he called himself, Adolph) Follen.

Charles Follen was one of the authors of the cele-

brated "Great Song," written about this time; some extracts from which I have given at the end of this volume, with all the other songs of his which I have been able to collect. The burning hatred of tyranny, the enthusiastic and tender love of his Father-land, and the heroic, the religious devotion to freedom, which glows with an intense fervor in this very remarkable poem, caused it afterwards to attract the attention of those in power, who thought themselves attacked by it. He never acknowledged himself publicly as its author, but he was strongly suspected of writing it, and it doubtless formed one of the grounds of accusation against him.

These songs, and his fearless declaration of his loyalty to the highest and truest freedom, borne out by his pure life, and the undoubted tendency of such opinions, when supported by a man of powerful mind, to awaken republican sentiments among the generous youth of the country, made him, very naturally, an object of fear and suspicion to the government.

It was indeed true, that his faith set no limit to the almost miraculous power of a great principle, fearlessly adhered to, even by a single individual; and he probably looked for results from a truly Christian German Burschenschaft, that might have made emperors and kings tremble on their thrones. Had he contemplated a violation of the laws, had he held the common notions of a revolution, men in power would not have feared him. But he supported and taught principles, and lived them out in all their just and beautiful and glorious proportions, which would level

all unjust distinctions in the human family, and make him the greatest among his brethren who should be the servant of all. Thus did he in truth labor to undermine the foundations of all unjust and arbitrary power.

The intimate and tender friendship, which had always existed between Charles and his father, made it impossible that he should not communicate to him the great hopes and generous purposes of his heart. But his father saw more clearly than he the invincible obstacles in the way of his plans; and, with prophetic fear, foresaw the persecutions and evils it would bring upon his beloved child. He sympathized with him, but he opposed him. His mother says,

"In Charles's ideas about Volksthum (people's rights), the liberty of the individual, of speech, and of the press, no one agreed more fully with him than his father, who, with his thorough uprightness and love of justice, with his powerful and clear understanding, saw plainly what was wanting, and how things might be better; but, being firmly convinced of the impracticability of using any successful means to remedy these evils, on account of the roughness of the German character, the want of energy in the people, their indolence, and the entire want of a spirit of union, he despaired of success. Charles, in his enthusiasm, disbelieved all this, and at times attempted to convince his father of the contrary; but, as the latter could never converse quietly on the subject, and became excited, Charles always dropped the conversation; saying, in his gentle way, 'Dear father, you

cannot speak calmly on these questions; we must let them alone.' He then spoke of something else, and afterwards avoided such topics."

He had pursued the study of the law at Giessen principally under the guidance of the celebrated civilian, Dr. von Löhr, and Dr. Grolmann, one of the most distinguished teachers of the penal law. He finished his studies in 1817, and, after a twofold examination in all the branches of jurisprudence, he received his diploma as Doctor of both the civil and ecclesiastical law. In speaking of this event, his mother says,

"He supported his theses with such solid learning, and gave such forcible replies, that his performance excited universal attention at Giessen. What, however, pleased and amused him very much, was, that his little sister Augusta, then only six or seven years old, had made acquaintance with the children of the janitor, in order that she might, with her own hands, pull the bell on the tower of the college, the ringing of which marks the moment when a degree is conferred on a student. She succeeded, and with great joy told him, upon his return home, that it was she that rung the bell, at which he was greatly delighted. My daughter, even now, would not part with the recollection of this pleasure at any price."

I find, in his own handwriting, the following translation of his diploma.

"Under the auspices of the Grand Duke, and in conformity with a decree of the Senate, the Rector of the university, Francis Joseph Arens, J. U. D.,

and Charles Louis Will. de Grolmann, J. U. D., Chancellor, and particularly, in the name of the faculty of law, the Privy Counsellor, John Daniel Henry Musaeus, J. U. D., confer upon the honored and learned Charles Follen, of Romrod, in consequence of the evidence he has given of his distinguished learning in jurisprudence, the highest academical honors, as Doctor both of the civil and the ecclesiastical law, with all the appertaining immunities, prerogatives, rights, and privileges, according to the rites and customs of our ancestors; on the fourteenth of March 1818; confirmed by the great seal of the university."

Dr. Follen then began to lecture, at the university of Giessen, on various parts of jurisprudence, while he studied the practice of the law at the court where his father presided.

It was during this period, that he was led to make a thorough examination into all the arguments against Christianity. From his earliest youth, he had, as his mother's letter declares, manifested a deeply religious character. The religious sentiment had prevailed in his mind; but he was never satisfied with a mere sentiment; it was necessary that his highest reason should be convinced. Divinity had been one of his studies in the university. Such a mind as his must necessarily pass through a painful period of doubt, of absolute skepticism. It pressed heavily upon him. In speaking of this period of his life, he has said to me, that, as soon as he was conscious of his doubts, he resolutely determined not to try to evade the enemy,

but to meet him face to face; he resolved to examine every argument which the most powerful minds had brought forward against religion. He studied Hume and all the other English infidel writers, and the French encyclopedists. He faithfully studied Spinoza and the other pantheistic writers. He waded through all these melancholy volumes, and rose from the perusal of them with the conviction, that, if these works contained all the arguments against revealed religion, their cause was as weak in argument as it was hopeless and gloomy in its conclusions. He often spoke of the beneficent effect, upon his mind, of this fearless investigation of this most important of all subjects, which was the firmest and most joyful faith that I have known any one to possess. He said once, in a lecture upon this topic, where he recommended a courageous examination of the arguments for and against Christianity, "For myself I can certainly say, that, next to the Gospel itself, the books that have been written against it have been the most efficient promoters of my belief in its divine truth."

There was a serene joy, a calm assurance, in his faith, that gave him a mysterious and almost irresistible power over the minds of others.

It was in the autumn of 1817, that a great festival was held at the Wartburg in commemoration of the battle of Leipsic and of the Reformation. Students from all the different universities met there, not only to recall to their memories the glories and triumphs of the past, but to form new hopes and plans for the

future. Present troubles and disappointments were discussed, plans of union were formed, and a more thorough reformation than even Luther's was proposed. In a little pamphlet, published by Massmann, all their doings and sayings are related. Many addresses, full of generous, youthful enthusiasm, and of a glowing love of freedom, are there given. Patriotic songs were sung by the assembled students. A few extracts from this pamphlet will show the character of the whole, and, as they evince the prevailing state of feeling among the students, I venture to give them.

"As the song closed, a student of Jena mounted the platform. After solemnly greeting the students who had assembled together at this German Youth Festival, and the rest of his hearers, he thus began: 'And what is the object of our meeting here together? None, none other, but that we may conjointly recall to our minds the image of the past, and draw from thence strength for the stirring deeds of the present; that we may, in common, deliberate upon our respective works and purposes; that we may interchange our thoughts; that we may embody the idea of our student fraternity in all its purity; and, lastly, that we may show the nation what she yet may hope from her youth, the soul that animates them, and the respect they pay to unity and brotherly good will.

"'Four years have passed since that great battle. The German people cherished fond hopes then, which now are all dissipated. All is different from

what we then expected. Of all the princes of Germany, but one alone has redeemed his pledged word; and he it is, in whose free land we are solemnizing this festival of victory. Such a result as this has brought low the courage of many valiant men. They perceive, that all is not as it should be with the much-vaunted excellence of the German people. Many have withdrawn from public life, which once dawned so propitiously on all, and have sought in retirement an equivalent for this in the calm pursuit of knowledge. Some have even preferred seeking another father-land in distant regions, where a new life was opening.

"'Now, then, now and for ever, ye noblest of our nation, proclaim your approbation of these our sentiments. We will abide by what we have sworn, so long as one drop of blood swells our veins. The spirit that guides us hither, the spirit of truth and justice, shall lead us on through the path of life; and, as sons of one and the same father-land, we shall stand a brazen wall against every external and internal foe who threatens our country. In time of need they promised to give us a father-land, one common father-land of justice; but this dearly-bought day of union has not yet dawned upon us."

"'But one prince has, prince-like, redeemed his promise,* a bright pattern to all others, a true German among Germans, one, whose ancestors were ever among the first to unsheath the sword for purity

* This was the Duke of Saxe-Weimar.

of faith and justice. O, may others follow in his steps, and that right soon. One thing the German people have gained, the strength of self-confidence. Never can they again be lulled in the sleep of dishonor, never can they forget their disgrace, or their joyous and brotherly waking up to combat for their God and his justice.

"'He, who dares to die for his father-land, he, too, may dare to speak of the means, by which he best may serve her in the time of peace. Then let us stand boldly forth, and speak that which is good in the face of the free heavens; for, God be praised, the time has come when the German need no longer fear the serpent-like tongue of the spy, nor the axe of the tyrant, and none need crave the pardon of others when he would speak of truth and holiness. But the Spirit of virtue and love will have a father-land, though we should have none. He can only dwell in the midst of one united and brotherly community, and we, as yet, are weak, divided, and scattered.'"

The free sentiments, expressed in the address from which these extracts are made, are a clear manifestation of public sentiment at this time, and this must be remembered in judging of the reasonableness of Dr. Follen's hope of the regeneration of the people. The burning hatred of tyranny, and love of freedom, which he expresses in the songs he wrote at this period, he in fact only shared with all the truly noble and generous spirits of the country. He was not at the feast of the Wartburg. He and his friends, with

other students who remained at Giessen, commemorated the day by partaking together of the Lord's supper. The spirit of self-sacrifice, which had led the German nation to victory on that day, four years before, this band of religious and patriotic young men thought worthy of Him who laid down his life for mankind; and it was in order to cherish this spirit, and that they might anew pledge themselves, in this solemn way, to a life of self-sacrificing devotion to their country's welfare, that they chose this mode of keeping the day holy.

The most important cause, in which Dr. Follen was employed as counsellor, arose in the summer of 1818. In that part of Hesse-Darmstadt, which is called the province of Hesse, (or Upper Hesse,) the communities of towns and villages had borne all the burdens of the different wars of the French in Germany, from the time of their revolution to the final overthrow of Napoleon in 1815. During these twenty years, the communities, being left without any assistance from the government of the Grand Dukedom, were authorized, by the latter, to contract debts upon the property of each town or village. Although these debts had accumulated to several millions of dollars, the credit of the communities remained in general undiminished; the interest was regularly paid, and their creditors were satisfied with their endeavours to discharge the principal gradually, as they recovered the means. But their actual state of distress was taken advantage of by some counsellors of the Grand Duke, who were desirous of depriving the communi-

ties of the management of their own affairs, and of taking it into their own hands, and, by this means, of destroying the last remnant of political independence, which was founded upon the common property of each town. These counsellors prevailed with the Grand Duke to establish a commission, which should be the general creditor of all the communities and the debtor of all their creditors. At the head of this commission was a financier, who was strongly suspected of having enriched himself with the public property on previous occasions. The salaries of the commissioners and the expenses of their administration were to be paid by the communities, whose debts were consequently increased by this amount, and at the same time the commission was invested with extensive powers to seize upon the property of the towns, if the increased rate of interest, by which the principal was to be paid off, should not be discharged within the fixed term. This law of the Grand Duke was published in the official Gazette of the 9th of July, 1818.

Although the communities were able and willing to pay off their debts in a manner and space of time which satisfied their creditors, they were then, at the close of the war, too much exhausted to comply with the arbitrary terms of the decree of the government, which had left them without protection during the war; and the creditors themselves declared, that they would much rather rely on the credit of the communities, than on that of the commission of the state.

The communities therefore saw, in this new decree of the government, the destruction of their property, credit, and independence; and those, who thought themselves particularly endangered, began to remonstrate against this measure in the most submissive manner. Then almost all the communities of Hesse met by deputies, and appointed a counsellor to present to the government their united, humble, and earnest remonstrance. But the government immediately declared this union seditious, and threatened to deprive every counsellor-at-law of his office, who should serve in this cause. The appointed counsellor withdrew, declaring, that he should still be willing to make out a sketch of the economical state of the communities, if they could find another lawyer who would vindicate the legal ground of their remonstrance.

The communities applied to Dr. Follen to take up their deserted cause by addressing to him the following letter.

"Sir, — It is probably known to you, that the communities of the Province of Hesse have united together to present an humble petition to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke, concerning the institution for paying off the debts of the communities, and to solicit the repeal of this decree, as well on account of its inevitable and great injury to the welfare of the communities, as on account of the violation of their corporate rights which it implies. For this purpose the communities have already appointed the public

advocate Baehm, at Giessen, as their agent, and have elected, for the management of their urgent affairs, a committee, the names of whose members you find here subscribed.

"The committee think it their duty to neglect nothing, in order that the just complaints of the communities may be thoroughly represented to the government. They wish, therefore, particularly to obtain, from an approved jurist, a legal statement of those points, in which the abovementioned decree is contrary to the settled and well-founded rights of the communities, with particular reference to the former decrees of the government concerning the administration and employment of the property of the communities.

"We desire you, Sir, to compose this part of our petition which relates to the law, that we may present it to the government, together with our economical complaints.

"If you should be inclined, Sir, to comply with our request, as we hope, the syndic Brühl, at Lich, will supply you with any notice you may require.

"It is understood, that we shall endeavour properly to compensate your trouble; and we have the honor to sign ourselves, Sir,

"Your most obedient servants,

"JOHN HENRY JUNG,
Burgomaster of Lanbach.

"GLOSS,
Mayor of Welfersheim.
&c. &c.

"*Hungen, August 30th*, 1818."

In the petition which Dr. Follen drew up in behalf of the communities, he showed, first, that their finances did not call for any interference of the government in their affairs; then the injustice of the measures contained in the law of the 9th of July, 1818, was set forth, in regard to general principles as well as to the law of the land. It was entitled, "An humble petition of several hundred communities of the Province of Hesse, beseeching the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt to repeal the establishment of the commission for paying off the debts of the communities, and to continue to them the administration of their own affairs."

Before either the commission or the government were able to take preventive measures, Dr. Follen caused this petition to be presented to the Grand Duke by a committee of some of the most respectable men of the community. At the same time it was printed, distributed, and announced in the newspapers.

Notwithstanding many efforts to put down the cause of the communities, public opinion declared itself so strongly against the flagrant injustice of the measures of the government, that the Grand Duke was prevailed upon to repeal the whole law of the 9th of July, dispossessing all the members of the commission of their offices, and reducing every thing to its former state.

This law of the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, repealing the law of the 9th of July, 1818, was published afterwards, in the official Gazette of the

Grand Dukedom, on the 28th of November following.

The communities, through their committee, sent a letter to Dr. Follen, acknowledging the great services he had rendered them, and concluding with these words. "We certify, with the sincerest gratitude for the services he has rendered to the Province, that he has conducted this affair with the zeal of a faithful advocate, and the disinterestedness of a good citizen."*

The entire success of the cause of the communities of his native Province drew upon Dr. Follen the hatred of all those influential persons, whose object had been frustrated in the abovementioned cause. Dr. Follen soon after was called upon, in the name of a large number of the most respectable citizens, to draw up a petition for the purpose of inducing the Grand Duke to fulfill the promise he had solemnly given at the Congress of Vienna to establish a representative constitution in his dominions. This was the first of those petitions, which afterward induced the government to introduce a certain order of things, which had at least the appearance of a constitution.

The forsaken cause of the communities, which Dr. Follen had carried through so triumphantly, was undertaken in less than six months after he had finished his university studies, before he was twenty-two years of age, and with the knowledge, that his suc-

* This account of the cause of the communities is taken from a manuscript in Dr. Follen's handwriting.

cess in life, so far as it depended upon the government, was utterly destroyed by his so doing. The other counsellor, who relinquished it, was a married man, and regretted the necessity of yielding to unjust power. But Dr. Follen was free, and rejoiced in the opportunity of giving this proof of his allegiance to principle. There was no period of his life, that he looked back upon with such unmingled pleasure as upon this. He loved to speak of it. He knew, that it laid the foundation of the final ruin of all his hopes in his native land; but he seldom alluded to that. He loved to describe the appearance of the simple-hearted, reverend delegates from the communities, and their gratitude to him for his exertions in their behalf. He loved to remember the general burst of generous indignation, which was called forth from the people by the petition he drew up, stating the injustice of the new law; and his own joy at the triumph of simple right against arbitrary power and selfish cunning. He forgot, he was indeed all-unconscious at these times, by what sacrifices the good had been obtained.

Dr. Follen's success was, as he anticipated, the ruin of all his hopes in his own country. From this time he was the object of an unrelenting persecution. Finding his hopes utterly blighted in Giessen, he accepted an invitation from a friend to lecture in Jena.

CHAPTER IV.

He goes to Jena. — Is joined by Wit. — Lectures on the Pandects. — Death of Kotzebue. — Dr. Follen is arrested. — Carried to Manheim. — Is acquitted and returns to Giessen.

Dr. Follen left Giessen in the early part of October, 1818. On the way he met with a Mr. John Wit, who accompanied him to Jena. This man, who afterwards became celebrated, though not in a very honorable way, was a man of talents, had an insinuating manner, and was singularly handsome. He was at this time under some disgrace on account of an affair at the university he had left, and it was a great object with him to find some support for his questionable character in an intimacy with one whose character was unimpeached. He professed great penitence for his follies, great devotion to the cause of freedom, and made so many fair promises, that he succeeded in making Dr. Follen believe, that a true friend might make him a good man. He has often spoken to me of this person, and said he knew how vain and selfish he was, but he still hoped to reclaim him by kindness; and the circumstance, that others cast him off, gave him a new claim upon his benevolence. When they arrived in Jena, Wit took lodgings

at the same house, and he professed the greatest devotion to Dr. Follen, and affected even a greater intimacy with him than actually existed. He promised to live a life of purity and self-denial, and thus fit himself to be a fellow-worker in the cause of freedom. We shall see how he kept his promises. "He proved," said a friend of Dr. Follen, who knew him well, "a snake in his bosom."

Dr. Follen immediately commenced a course of lectures on the Pandects. His mother says, "His reception at Jena was very honorable, and he had, very soon, a highly respectable audience. He lectured with eminent success. Oken, Wieland, &c. were his friends, and received him into their circle. We encouraged the most cheerful hope with regard to him." A learned German, a friend of Dr. Follen's, the same who invited him to come to Jena, was with him all the time he was there, and, after seven years of imprisonment for political offences, has come to this country in search of freedom. He tells me, that it was thought a very extraordinary thing in Germany for so young a man to venture to lecture upon the Pandects, and that he treated the subject very ably, entering into and explaining the original principles of natural right upon which the civil law rests. Besides his public lectures, he had a private class of young men, whose studies he directed in a review of the Pandects previous to their leaving the university. This department of instruction was usually filled by much older and more experienced men, and was, until his death the last win-

ter, the peculiar department of the celebrated civilian Thibeaut, whose lectures were attended by law students from all parts of Germany, as well as other countries, at the conclusion of their studies. This friend also tells me, that, as a proof of the great interest and real excellence of his lectures, the whole class, which was very respectable, remained with him to the very last, which would not have been the case, unless the lectures had been interesting, as well as truly valuable. He adds, that, notwithstanding this great labor, he always had time for his friends, and was much in society. His next course of lectures in Jena, in the following summer, was upon the history of the Roman law Institutes.

Dr. Follen's life at Jena was a period of great excitement and trial. His hope of a moral and political reform in Germany, which should have its beginning in the universities, was still ardent and unchanged. There were many who sympathized with his views to a certain extent, but beyond that were strongly opposed to him. He stood ready always to follow out his principles to their legitimate results. He was no compromiser. If the principle was true and just, he would be faithful to it at all costs ; if false, he would relinquish it entirely. He thought we had nothing to do with consequences, only with principles ; and that we must wait, in the calm and assured faith, that what is true and right in itself can never be dangerous in the end. There were very few who could follow him in this unconditional adherence to a great principle ; but all respected him, and even those, who bitterly

opposed and feared him, could not withhold their admiration. They saw, that he took his stand on Christian ground, and first made himself the image of that excellence which he proposed for all.

An event occurred, about six months after Dr. Follen went to Jena, which was made use of by the government to complete the ruin of his prospects in his own country. Kotzebue had long been an object of hatred and contempt to the liberal party, on account of his heartless ridicule of all their dearest purposes and most cherished hopes. It was well known, that he received a salary from the Russian government while he resided in Germany ; and it was generally believed, that one part of the service he rendered in return was, to act the part of a spy upon his native land. Such was the abhorrence his character excited in the mind of a young fanatic in the cause of freedom, by the name of Sand, that he thought himself called upon by Providence to put an end to his life. He deliberately went to Kotzebue's house, asked to see him, and assassinated him. Immediately afterward he stabbed himself, and gave himself up to the officers of justice. It was said, that, in coming out of Kotzebue's house, after perpetrating this insane deed, he met a little son of the murdered man, and that suddenly all the tenderness of his nature revived, and he was so affected at the thought of the injury he had done the child, that he suddenly resolved to give himself up for punishment as an act of justice to the poor orphan boy. His wound was tended with the greatest care, and, owing to the iron

strength of his constitution, he so far recovered as to enable him to meet the punishment for murder.

A close investigation was immediately instituted, in order to ascertain whether Sand had any accomplices, although he had declared that he had none. All his personal friends were, in turn, summoned to Manheim to be examined. Nothing, however, was discovered. Every one knew, that it was a piece of mad fanaticism in Sand, growing out of a wild notion, that he was the instrument, designed by Heaven to punish the traitor Kotzebue. Saving this one act, his life was irreproachable; and even here he undoubtedly thought he was doing right. But the expression of such an opinion of him was dangerous; and, as is well known, the learned and excellent De Wette was removed from his office upon its being discovered, that he had written a letter of consolation to the mother of Sand, in which he tried to comfort her with the idea, that, although her son had done a wicked act, it was from a mistaken notion of duty.

The murder of Kotzebue was committed in March. In the May following Dr. Follen was summoned to Weimar, to be examined as a suspected accomplice. Nothing, of course, could be discovered. He returned and finished his lectures. At the same time that the investigations were making to discover the supposed accomplices of Sand, an inquisition was carrying on in Jena to discover the author of the "Great Song" before spoken of. Parts of it had been set to music, and it was not only sung at the meetings of the students, but by the people in the marketplaces; and doubtless it did excite the minds of many

to a new zeal for freedom, or rather it became the vehicle for the utterance of feelings which glowed with unquenchable ardor in the minds and hearts of all.

It was supposed to be Sand who had published the song, and it was said by those who sought for an excuse to vent their indignation against its suspected author, that it had excited Sand to the perpetration of his terrible act. No one of those, who knew who had written the song, betrayed the secret. The friend I have before quoted says, that once, when Dr. Follen was under arrest, on suspicion of being the author of the song, the students assembled under his window and sung it to him.

During this summer the Empress Dowager of Russia, mother of the Duchess of Weimar, who had come to visit her daughter, was expected in Jena. The public authorities caused triumphal arches, decorated with evergreens and complimentary inscriptions, to be erected in the streets through which she would pass. The Senate of the University held a meeting upon the occasion, and the students were invited by them to join in the public celebration by forming a procession by torch-light. This was refused. They were then requested to abstain from any disrespectful act. This was agreed to by the students. But Mr. Ferdinand John Wit, who seemed anxious to make himself famous, set himself to work to destroy the arches, which he succeeded in doing. In addition to this, an insulting refusal of the request of the government was published on the black board of the university. As it was thought certain he

would be expelled, Wit declared himself the author, not only of the destruction of the arches, but of the offensive words on the black board, and also of the obnoxious song. No one, of course, believed that he had done all these things. He was pronounced deranged, and sent home to his mother.

Dr. Follen thought that he was now free from all danger, and pursued his occupations as usual. But, in the following October, he was suddenly waked, one night, by a noise in his room, and found himself surrounded by *gens d'armes*. Upon asking what they wanted, he was told, that they came to take him to Manheim. As this was the place where Sand was imprisoned, he understood well the object of taking him there ; it was to confront him with Sand. The officers busied themselves with seizing all his papers. He was in a deep sleep when they entered, and the sudden waking had startled him ; but he soon recovered his faculties, and immediately recollected, that he had a letter, which, if they got possession of it, might be of serious injury to the person who wrote it. With great composure he requested to be allowed to dress himself. He then watched his opportunity, and, without the slightest hurry, took the paper from the place where he had laid it, and put it into the stove, where there was still a fire. He had done this with such apparent unconcern, that they suspected nothing till they saw the flame of the paper. "You have burnt a paper," said one of the *gens d'armes*. "Yes, I have," he replied very calmly. They took possession of all the remaining papers. Dr. Follen

was carried first to Weimar, where he was again examined, and then was allowed to go by himself, on his parole, to Manheim.

At Manheim he had to submit, once more, to the most tedious and vexatious examinations. He was questioned and cross-questioned in the most trying manner. He was confronted with Sand in his prison; and every effort was made to prove him guilty, but in vain. Nothing was to be found against him; and he was acquitted.

Dr. Follen's interview with Sand in his prison deeply affected him. "No one," he has told me, "could help loving Sand." He saw him there lying on his bed, in prison, still suffering from his wound, and quietly waiting for the physicians to pronounce him sufficiently strong to be publicly executed. When Dr. Follen first entered his prison, he attempted to approach him in order to take his hand, but the officers prevented him. After a long and very trying interview, which both of them endured with the utmost patience and calmness, when there was no longer any thing to ask him, and they were about to lead him away, the sight of his poor, deluded friend, so quietly and so cheerfully waiting the cruel death that was to finish his sufferings, and conclude the strange tragedy of his life, the beautiful expression of his noble countenance, and his conviction of the purity of his misjudging mind, so overcame him, that, in spite of the presence of his stern judges and all the dictates of prudence, he suddenly pushed those aside who would have held him back, and, rush-

ing to the bedside of his still dear friend, took him in his arms, and pressed him to his heart, as he bade him farewell for ever.

The artful and vexatious examinations, to which Dr. Follen had been subjected, could have been only for the purpose of finding an excuse for the severe measures, which they were disposed to take, to get rid of a man whom they feared, but whom they could find no fault with. They were indeed baffled in this purpose, for there was not the smallest proof against him. But, though honorably acquitted, he was forbidden to lecture any longer in Jena; and he returned to Giessen.

CHAPTER V.

Extracts from a Pamphlet vindicating Dr. Follen from the Attacks of Wit. — Character and Purposes of Wit. — Character of Dr. Follen. — His Influence in the Universities. — Wit's Flight into France.

Thus terminated his residence in Jena. His pretended friend, John Wit, some time afterwards, when he perceived that he had attached himself to a failing cause, deserted it, and by that means not only saved himself from danger, but secured the favor of its enemies. He wrote a pamphlet, which pretended to lay open all the schemes of the liberal party, and which was particularly seasoned by a virulent attack upon Dr. Follen, whom he accused of the most wicked and blood-thirsty designs. An anonymous pamphlet, in reply to the absurd and monstrous charges in this little book, was published in the year 1828 by the friend before spoken of, who was with him all the time of his residence in Jena, and who, as I have before mentioned, is now in this country.

A few extracts from this pamphlet will throw light upon this period of his life, and show the estimation in which Dr. Follen and his pretended friend were held by those who were nearest, and best able to judge of them both.

The book, from which I make these extracts, is entitled,

"German Youth, associated lately in Burschenschaften and Gymnastic Communities. — Materials for the promised First Part of the Fragments from the Life of the Adventurer, Ferdinand John Wit, named Von Dörring. — With Reference to the frank Observations of Major von Lindenfels on the Second Part of these Fragments."

"*Preface.*

"The following pages were written shortly after the appearance of the 'Memoirs of Herr von Dörring,' and the observations with which Herr von Lindenfels accompanied them. Many reasons have restrained the author from letting these cursory observations follow sooner the abovenamed book. Herr von Lindenfels has found himself obliged to alter materially his first opinion of the author of the Fragments. Yet he has not considered it necessary to modify also his judgment of persons and things, the knowledge of which he seems to have gained almost entirely through Herr von Dörring. This, and the conviction, that he, with many others, has and can have no correct view of these things, induced the author to give these pages to the public. He would willingly have cast a glance at the life and doings of the German youth between the years 1820 and 1824, but he dared not encroach upon that time, as he was wanting in accurate knowledge of the connexion of the events of those years. Should it, however,

appear, as if he had sought to spread too favorable a light on the events of the preceding years, he begs it will be recollected, what masses of shadow have till now been thrown on these pictures of life. But where a moral idea moves the life of a human being, life will and must preserve a worth for him which the disapproval of others cannot destroy. Err he may, so long as he thinks and strives; but his error can hardly be called sin, when, in his youth, he loses himself in ideals, according to which, inspired by love for all goodness and beauty, he dares to measure the life without him.

"Therefore it seemed right to the author, once again, with the fullest serenity of mind, to look back into his and his friend's early life, and to draw a picture thereof as well as he was able. Not according to rule would he draw it; not through the dim glass would he look back, which the cold, politic, experienced man of the world would apply; he would look with youthful eyes, and become again animated with the remembrance of the spring-time of his life.

"And so let these pages go forth. Whether truth or prejudice has guided the pen of the author, the unprejudiced man will easily discover, by recalling his own fair youth, and then will easily pardon the petulance with which he has treated some subjects, for which he could find no worthier mode of treatment.

"June 1, 1828."

The first chapter contains a sarcastic and rather

amusing sketch of Ferdinand John Wit and his different names. The second gives a particular account of the festival of the Wartburg and its real purposes. The third contains many particulars of the character and history of Jahn, of whom the author speaks very highly. It also explains many little circumstances and facts in relation to Wit and his history, previous to his coming to Jena with Dr. Follen. At the fourth chapter I commence my extracts.

"Thus enriched, Ferdinand returned after this three months' absence, but not alone. He had wisely associated with himself the powerful Charles Follen, who, as he knew, was then about to set out for Jena, in order to try his fortune as a lecturer. He was also well aware, that Count Bocholz and others obnoxious to him were going to Jena at the same time; and, therefore, in order to excite some predisposition in his favor, he had acquainted Dr. Follen with his fate in Jena, in order to move the latter to take him under his protection, as a most cruelly oppressed man.

"When we returned after the vacation, we called on Dr. Follen, and found him, not only in the same house, but in the same lodging, with the deceased Ferdinand.* They had hired three contiguous apartments; and Ferdinand, on whom we first called, told us, that he intended to live very retired through the winter, and study under Follen's direction; that he should take little share in the common

* Alluding to his change of name.

Burschen-leben (students' life), and that neither would Follen waste any time, as he meant to lecture on the Pandects. 'Pandects?' said we in surprise, 'Has Dr. Follen already lectured on the Pandects? Why does he not rather begin with the Institutes?' 'O!' replied Ferdinand, 'you don't know him yet. Follen is equal to any part of jurisprudence. Besides, a *Pandectist* is wanted in Jena.'

"We then begged to be presented to Dr. Follen. He received us as an old acquaintance; and we called each other at once *Du* (thou). He was candid and kind, open and confiding, without appearing to demand the same manner from those he conversed with. But there was, in his bearing, his appearance, the tones of his voice, in his movements, his glances, in fact, in the whole man, something so noble, such calmness, strength, determination, and an almost proud earnestness, a something peculiar to himself, which imperceptibly inspired all who came in contact with him with a deep feeling of respect. Picture to yourself, in addition to this, a very smooth, somewhat broad, but delicately formed forehead; a well-shaped nose; deep blue eyes, full of soul; a red and not too large mouth; thick, light-colored whiskers; smooth, light hair, which, parted on the middle of his forehead, hung around his neck in wavy locks; a skin so fair and rosy, so fresh and clear, that none, among my fair readers, would for a moment have resented a comparison being made between it and their own. Again, picture to yourself this head on a sound, powerful, and well-grown body of middle

stature, and clothe the figure ordinarily in a blue, German student's coat, trimmed with buttons of mother of pearl, and you will have before you the image of Dr. Follen, "the incarnate devil," (the term applied to him by Wit, when he changed his name and his character.)

"This man was as serene, pure, and chaste in his manners as in his words; and we, who have visited three different universities, can assure you, that we have nowhere met his equal, nor any that could be compared to him, for purity and chasteness of manners and morals. You will allow, however, my friend, that this devil had some peculiar crotchets of his own. But he was a German devil; and, for the reasons already given, so much the more of an incarnate devil. He concentrated all his forces, — at least, so it would seem, would it not? — in order to aim his murderous blow on one marked point, or, what is the same thing, to effect a revolution.

"We confess to you, Major, Follen was a bloody revolutionist. The death of the enemy and the freedom of the human mind, not only lay at his heart, and his heart on his tongue, but his powerful fist might be seen convulsively clenched, whenever he heard manacles and chains clank. . . . . But, at the same time, this *man*, or, as John von Müller would say, this *youth*, of two-and-twenty, had a most peculiar manner of revolutionizing. He began very differently from other revolutionizers, and something like Pythagoras, with himself, and very soon guillotined the old government within, and rid

himself of evil manners and habits, or rather he never had any to operate upon, and created a free state within himself.

"You may perhaps smile, gracious Sir, or perhaps you do not smile, and, venerating the most honorable order of the Dannebrog, pursue your own free thoughts regarding this limited free state; and every one will own, that these small subdivisions, — forgive me if I include the German provinces of the king of Denmark under this term, — have often made our country somewhat powerless. How much better would it then have been if Dr. Charles Follen had adhered to the good free manners and customs that are now in vogue, and not neutralized himself like Switzerland.

"But we will return to Dr. Follen. The deceased Frederick left us soon after he had presented us to Follen, who immediately turned the conversation on Roman law. He spoke with animation of this subject, and showed how well-grounded he was in it. He went over the heads of the introduction he intended as a preface to his lectures on the Pandects, and induced us thence to hear these discourses. Our expectations were neither deceived nor satisfied. The point of view, in which Dr. Follen regarded the Roman law, was constantly kept in sight throughout the whole course of the lectures. He deduced its main doctrines from the nature of social life, and sought to establish the existence of a state of harmony between this and the human mind. He now followed out this harmony historically, and gave

explanations wherever it either seemed doubtful or impossible, and showed how it might be called forth. He then treated his subject systematically, according to von Löhr and Heise, without servilely adhering to his own view of a consistent arrangement of his materials. Dr. Follen had unquestionably studied with diligence; but he was by no means complete. Yet his digressions had always a certain course and a determined bearing. In his views and opinions there was consistency; in his propositions, modesty, clearness, and dignity.

"All this bound us closer to Follen. But we seldom found him alone. Ferdinand watched him almost jealously; and, besides this, he had older and nearer friends around him, who shared his hours of leisure. Yet we learned to know his views on politics and government, and soon acquired a knowledge of his philosophical and political system; for he opened himself freely and willingly to his friends. He showed, however, a visible endeavour to induce them to adopt his opinions, 'to convince them,' and by this means establish, betwixt himself and them, unity of judgment, thought, will, and act.

"But there was one obstacle in the way of these efforts, which it was not easy to remove. It was this. Follen's philosophy was throughout practical. He maintained, that all which human reason recognises as good, beautiful, and true, may be realized through moral effort. Thus, the rational man must first be good, true, and noble in himself, and then, through him, must the life about him become so.

But, before all others, this should be the effort and the aim of the educated man, and of him who is striving after the true culture; for only the exhibiting of man as he should be is education, and, therefore, that life alone is a well-cultivated one, which has been ordered throughout by right reason, that is, by man's moral nature. To this point should we come if all educated men so willed it. For these stand at the head of life, and are its head and its heart. And the state must be ordered according to the reason of its members. As it is, it is a hindrance to the complete or the further education of the people. This hindrance must be removed by the cultivated; and the state so ordered, that freedom of the will, in all that pertains to the conscience or the reason of its members, be therein established.

"If now we set out from these severe principles, we can easily understand, how one, who thinks himself all that he should be, could think of bringing all without him to be like himself. But the misfortune is, that no one can easily be as he ought to be; and, besides, external life will always bear traces of this human imperfection, although by this we do not mean to advance any weighty argument against the existence, in the state, of a reasonable, intelligent, and orderly freedom among men.

"On this point, Follen displayed a self-confidence which often astonished us. He was bold enough to maintain, that he lived according to reason, and was all that reason could require of him; and we must own, that even his wittiest opponents never succeeded in

beating him on this point of his argument. Yes, Sir; Follen was so confident, so bold, so proud, and exacting, that he would speak in terms of indescribable contempt of the meanness and weakness of him, who deemed that the consciousness of truth and beauty, and the conception of lofty ideas, could ever be separated from their realization in life, their practice, and their developement in their whole extent. For he maintained, that the consciousness or perception of the good and right in man never exceeds his force and will, and that both are bounded by the same limits. It may easily be supposed, that this proud language gave offence in proportion as the life of Follen himself afforded little scope for the refutation of the doctrines he maintained. All that could be objected to him was centred in the reproach, that might be made against his want of a sufficient degree of humility and modesty. But this failing in a man who felt his own importance, and saw his influence acknowledged, was seldom manifested otherwise than by a compassionating smile, in which he plainly seemed to say, 'O weak spirit! your envious vanity and idle effeminacy are truly senseless.'

"In this manner, it might have been difficult to maintain a friendship with Follen, had not the more passive participators in his opinions stood in the way of a rupture. It was painful to all to break with him; for, since some among the old friends had gone over to Follen's bold and ideal doctrines, a rupture with him also brought on one with his disciples; as he re-

quired an unconditional adherence or opposition to his views.

" We have used the word *unconditional* as it is applied by Ferdinand in his memoirs ; and our readers will find, further on, the history of this unconditionality set forth, which played so important a part in the early inquiries. Already, in Giessen, Charles Follen had brought the disputation to this nice point, and here he remained master, as he, at that time, was master over the elements of the life of his Giessen friends, (known under the name of *the Black.*) But in Jena these elements were not under his control. The course of the developement and cultivation of the spirit had already been defined and followed out by the excellent Fries, who, in latter years, had exercised a decided influence on these elements. Added to this, Fries was universally respected as a man, and even Follen himself could not refuse him his esteem.

" As soon as Follen set forth this unconditionality in its full extent, every thing seemed to bow before the boldness of his conceptions. All respected the self-conviction, which was so proudly and strongly displayed by him ; but they felt, at the same time, that they could only respect it in Follen, and could not share in it themselves. But then people did not sufficiently well understand themselves to arrive at once at a clear perception of this fact ; although an internal resisting impulse was universally acknowledged, which deterred the generality from bidding defiance, with Follen, to all history, to all past and pres-

ent, and maintaining, that that which had been, had been made what it was entirely by man, and that it might as easily have been different, if men had acted up to a better conviction, and been willing to put reason in possession of her full rights. And Follen maintained, that he himself acted up to this better conviction or understanding. In a political sense this feeling was purely republican, for he would have built up the state on the model of what man ought to be, and looked upon himself as able, in his own person, to afford a fitting representative of this, at the same time holding himself justified in requiring a like opinion from others. And this he further demanded unconditionally; whence it followed, that they, who admitted this unconditionally, must also unconditionally admit his republican form of government. And thus every one, who adhered to his doctrines, became an unconditionalist. As he, through his whole system, aimed at its practical developement, and at a full realization of its propositions, the adoption of his opinions (this unconditionality) was something most serious; and it was easy to perceive, that the unconditional adherents to Follen's doctrines became as sincere as himself in acting up to them, from the moment that they acknowledged themselves convinced of their truth.

"Many wished the conversion of Follen. This conversion and instruction could best be effected, it was believed, by the Counsellor Fries; and, ere long, the whole assembly gathered weekly round the

latter, and disputed warmly on the subject. As, however, both Fries and Follen had their own decided systems, nothing was effected on either side. Neither of the two could convince the other; but their adherents all learned much that was valuable, and many became great philosophers with systems of their own. Many learned better to comprehend the depth and acuteness of their old master Fries, and loved him more and more for his modesty and humility, while the unconditionalists remained unconditionalists.

"But Fries was soon constrained, by household calamities and reverses, to withdraw from these evening discussions; and already, in February, 1819, the circle of friends, that assembled around him, were again left alone with Follen. And now matters came to extremities. In the first place, people had learned better how to dispute; in the second, they had now an authority on their side, which was an important point; and, above all, they had gained much in clearness and decision of opinions, and knew better what they wanted, and ought to maintain, and that decided the matter. Since a union, or even a good understanding, could no longer be thought of by either party, the whole assembly were dispersed in the month of March by a most decisive rupture. Three followed Follen; and the rest went mostly their own way." Page 77.

"Follen was, at the bottom of his heart, a man of tender feelings, and only so indescribably harsh when

he thought himself called upon to oppose cowardice or effeminacy. He was also as quicksighted as yourself, Major, to discover rich gifts and graces of mind in Ferdinand. Follen bore, with unwearying patience, all his eccentricities, follies, and absurdities, and tried, with the most praiseworthy perseverance, to inspire the wavering mind of the youth, (naturally inclined to content himself with a superficial view of every thing,) with a love of knowledge, truth, and virtue; and to endeavour to fix these feelings in his mind. Ferdinand, who had completely lost all credit by his journey to Churhessen, found a defence in Follen against the persecutions and contempt of his former friends. And now you should have seen, Major, with what indulgence and affection this devil, Follen, protected and treated the boy. Every one in the circle made open or covert reproaches against the grave Doctor, on account of his favor towards the youth; and as we were among the number of those who spoke to Follen on this point, and told him, that he appeared to be deceived in the character of Ferdinand, we will repeat the answer which he gave us on the subject.

"Follen smiled, and replied, 'I know all that you would say; but what will become of him, if we all cast him off, and leave him to his folly? Only let me alone.'

"Does this look very devil-like, Sir Major? Ferdinand showed his gratitude for this in his own way. Charles Follen was incontestably the most re-

spected and best cultivated young man then living in Jena. It gratified the vanity of poor Ferdinand to occupy the same apartments with such a man, and to have won his attention and regard. But it was no slight task for him to retain this precious happiness. As one point towards it he agreed unreflectingly to all the views of his friend; and close observers have even asserted, that he did so before he knew what they were. And in the first week of Follen's absence from Jena, Ferdinand undertook to maintain some opinions which his friend had expressed, against others, and laid himself so thoroughly open to ridicule, that Follen was obliged in future to entreat, that he would not again injure his fame by such indiscretion." Page 80.

"The students of Jena retained not the slightest benefit from all the friendly discussions which had been constantly carried on in the circle that had gathered round Dr. Follen. In Giessen he had endeavoured to bring his moral views to bear upon the lives of the young students. The result of these endeavours proved, however, that the majority neither knew how to appreciate nor to act up to so moral a standard. The few, who thought that they understood Follen's views and doctrines, soon closed around him, and separated themselves from the mass of the students. With youthful frankness they expressed their doctrines of stern morality, and their contempt of every thing coarse and unrefined; which became so irksome to the majority of the Giessen students, that they entire-

ly discontinued all intercourse and communion with Follen and his adherents. Thrown back upon themselves, this band strove after a moral and spiritual cultivation, disseminating, on all sides, the political and moral views of their leader. It cannot be denied, that Follen exercised a control over the minds of his friends in Giessen, which was very galling to many among them. The superiority of his mind and acquirements deterred even the stronger from adopting any independent choice of opinions, or following any original course of feeling. Besides, Follen possessed such a great degree of acuteness and strength of mind, that none of his friends were able to detect the ideal foundation of his youthful philosophy; the consistency of his life, and his personification of the standard that he proposed to his adherents, removed from the minds of most of them all doubt as to the justness of his doctrines; and, even where such doubts were entertained, no one could hope to shake the fulness of conviction, which, in Follen's mind, had taken the place of invincible truth.

"In Jena, Follen sought in vain to overmaster the minds of his new friends in the same manner. Here a great and not unphilosophical stirring up of ideas, both original and peculiar, had long influenced the lives of the youths. The utmost freedom and latitude were exercised in the views they took, under the guidance of a large number of spiritually-minded and learned men in all the different professions. The intimate footing, on which they stood

to most of these men, always kept alive in them the desire of testing their dogmas; and, since each teacher sought, independently of others, to make his doctrines pass current, it followed, of course, that each one also found a number of disciples who adopted his opinions exclusively. The consequence of which was, that the students kept up continual disputations among themselves upon the superiority of the views they had respectively adopted." Page 83.

"Follen could not, therefore, succeed in Jena with his moral-political dogmas. Too much had been learned and retained from the instruction of the old teachers, to cast it aside for that which Follen proposed in its place. A strict criticism had been encouraged and exercised on these points. Why, therefore, should Follen not be criticized? The severity, with which he endeavoured to force his convictions and opinions on all, maintaining, that cowardice and weakness alone prevented their being adopted and applied as the rule of life, gave rise to so much opposition among his friends, that it became impossible for him to exercise any influence on the lives of the students. Such spiritual despotism was unheard of in Jena. Even those, who could not otherwise refuse Follen their respect, declared themselves strongly against him. They contended, that it became no one, who was not Christ, to maintain that he had truth with him. Christ alone could have this. With him and through him could freedom of mind alone be retained. There had been a Saviour

in a moral-religious sense, but no faith could be extended towards a moral-political messiah.*

" ' Those who knew Follen,' said Ferdinand, ' know, that this was no mere figure of speech.' Follen was, however, not insane enough to think himself a Christ; he only maintained that every one should, like Christ, strive after moral perfectibility, and be willing to die for his faith. He believed himself to possess a firm conviction of its truth, and the power of sacrificing every thing to it. And this feeling afforded him an excuse for pride and dignity. In his presence, one felt one's self to be but a kind of moral nonentity. Sand raised himself to this moral self-confidence of Follen, but without possessing the same noble-minded and spiritual conceptions. If Follen ever fostered the hope of gaining an unlimited influence on the lives of the students, he must have formed a very erroneous estimate of the youth of his own or any time, and more especially of those at Jena. It does not, however, actually appear, that he ever entertained such views.

" He certainly blamed the organization of the collegiate communities at Jena, and maintained, that no one could be a faithful member of these, who did not entertain a correct and earnest consciousness of the duties of morality, and of the freedom and unity of the people. But he did not deem it worth the

* Follen had composed a very powerful ode on the celebration of the holy sacrament, which bore evidence of his religious and political creed, and opened with his favorite idea, " A Christ must thou become ! " &c.

trouble to contend with those who believed, that a political training was strikingly at variance with the inconsiderateness of youth. Perhaps, also, Follen thought, that he should better attain his object by gradually habituating others to his views, and by disseminating them from the desk and in the circle of his friends, than by violently opposing himself to the spirit then prevalent. Certain it is, that he was himself aware, that much labor was yet required, on his part, before he could raise even the most cultivated and susceptible youths to the height of his ideal views.

"It must not, however, be denied, that Follen aroused, among all his youthful adherents, a greater attention towards the efforts of a party who had attacked and calumniated the whole youthful community. Until then, these efforts had merely met with a kind of boyish ridicule at Jena and the other universities. But Follen considered them to spring from a deep-laid plan. He himself had taken up a decided position against these efforts, and hesitated not to maintain, that it was due to the better conviction men had acceded to, to wage war, with equal weapons, against those who attempted secretly to undermine the erection of a new and more noble organization of the people. As long as writers alone expressed such opinions, there could be no danger in Follen's views. But as soon as the public authorities deemed it necessary to step forward, each one took upon himself to attack them; and, in proportion to the little attention that had hitherto been paid to the danger likely to arise to the government through the schemes and

visionary dreams of the German youth in the different universities, they now deemed themselves so much the more grievously wronged and embittered, when the extravagances of a few among them were made the occasion of instituting inquiries regarding the whole, and even of proceeding judicially against them, which at once put an end to all the discussions they had learned to value.

"Follen's fate was, in reality, decided by these occurrences. He himself perceived that he must yield, but yet he wished to fight out the fight. He was internally convinced, that he was fighting and falling for 'the rights which are born with us, the holy, inalienable rights of mankind'; and, as long as he thought there was any chance of victory, his soul could not admit the thought of concession or defeat. Yet the thorn of vanity, ambition, or selfishness, rankled not in his bosom, as so many have believed." Page 88.

"Follen was no friend to mere metaphor. His words were powerful as his whole being. When we ourselves asked him, whether he thought he should be able to bring his system into practice without the shedding of blood, he replied, calmly, 'No; if matters come to the worst, all who are wavering in their opinions must be sacrificed.' And when we represented to him, that this tyranny revolted against our better feelings, and that, as Christians and men, we could not deem it justifiable to destroy men, who were probably good and just, merely because they ventured to think differently from us, and that we

could not take upon ourselves to condemn the moral standard which others might propose to themselves, he rejoined, 'This is not a question of feeling, but of necessity. If thou art convinced, that that which thou thinkest is truth, thou canst not regard the realization of this truth with indifference, except from weakness. The means must not be regarded in a case of moral necessity.'

"When we observed, that he was thus acting upon the Jesuitical doctrine, that the end, or aim, sanctifies the means, he objected, 'A moral necessity is no aim, and all means are equal in respect to it.'

"Happily we did not perceive the existence of such a necessity ourselves, and were constrained to acknowledge, that we believed it to exist solely in his own imagination.

"'Granted,' said he, 'but that is enough.' And we felt this was enough for us also. We were penetrated by the force of his self-conviction and his overmastering pride. Strong minds have always power over the weaker. From that day forward we took a hearty, irrepressible interest in Follen; and we esteemed him more and more, in proportion as we were ourselves influenced by a conviction entirely opposed to the one he had arrived at. We remained friends even after we felt called upon, subsequently, to say to him, 'From henceforward are we against thee.'

"And this you will, perhaps, scarcely believe, Sir Major; and yet it is so. No, we never can call that man a devil, whose whole being and thinking is pene-

trated by a moral conviction, which is in perfect unity with himself, which has become truth and certainty to him, without which he could not be what he is, could not become and remain good and noble. No, a man who will venture his existence, the most dazzling prospects, which his talents justified him in looking forward to, and every enjoyment of life, for the sake of this conviction, no, such a man as this can never be termed a devil. He can only be regarded as our friend. We may pity him, but we can never cease to regard him with esteem, because he has separated himself from the general mass. Follen would as willingly have attained, in a peaceful manner, what he deemed indispensably necessary for his country and the people, if there had been the slightest chance of his succeeding. He was ready for either course; but he held himself prepared for war as soon as peace was broken; and, although towards his friends he was open, honorable, and conscientious, looking on no sacrifice or privation as hard to undergo for them, yet towards his enemies he was the very reverse, as soon as he thought himself called upon to stand on the defensive. Never, however, did he act in defiance of lawful organizations. He denied only the justice of police authority, which he looked upon as a misuse of power, an invasion of the existing legal constitution and of civil liberty, and as fitted to annul the relative bearing of authority and duty between a state and its inhabitants.

"Call this what you will; call it, in short, subtilty, and we agree with your definition. Follen may ap-

pear to you to have been too bold in looking upon himself as a belligerent power. And we, on our part, will by no means deny, that such conduct was presumptuous. Every one, who attempted to imitate Follen always appeared to me insignificant and disgusting, and more especially your so-called *Tecum*. In Follen all this self-confidence was consistent, and no one as yet ever ventured to abuse him unconditionally for it, excepting your *Tecum* and his peculiar adherents." Page 96.

"A few weeks after the late Ferdinand retired from public life in Jena, the report of Sand's deed resounded through the land. Inquiries were immediately instituted regarding Follen, and all with whom Sand had lived on terms of intimacy. Sand had asserted, that he had published and disseminated abroad, in 1818, a song composed by Follen. We have never been able to discover if Sand published this song with or without the concurrence of the author; but we know for certain, that, at the period of its publication, they were not personally acquainted. Follen subsequently expressed his disapprobation of the whole affair, terming it a useless and inconsiderate trick. To the authorities, however, he denied all claims of paternity as to the production, and thus the matter terminated."

CHAPTER VI.

He becomes an Object of Suspicion to the Government. — Is threatened with Imprisonment. — Leaves home. — Residence in Strasburg — Studies Architecture. — Visits Paris. — Orders from the Government that Foreigners should quit France.

The joy at the return of Charles to his father's house must have been mingled with much pain. He had been subjected to repeated arrests, and to the most annoying examinations, in this painful affair of Sand; and, although he had been honorably acquitted, yet he was excluded from Jena, where he had left many friends, and where he was a successful lecturer. He now stood an object of suspicion to many, and of the unrelenting persecution of the men in power. Even some friends, as he had once thought them, turned away coldly from him, when they saw that he was a supporter of a hopeless cause, and, from being lavish in their expressions of devoted love, denied all intimacy with him, and left him to strive alone, in his hour of trial and suffering. But this was not the case with all. The friend, from whose little book I have made the above extracts, although he did not agree with him in all his opinions, had stood by him and offered his assistance in the hour of trial; and, as we have seen, dared afterwards to speak in his favor,

even although he had been pronounced a traitor to his country; while his false friend turned against him. He was arrested at the same time that Dr. Follen was, but he was only carried to Weimar, and was soon set free, while his friend, Dr. Follen, went on his parole to Manheim. He went, he tells me, to meet him at a town on the road, to ascertain if there were any thing he could do for him; and here they met and parted for the last time in this world. Dr. Follen was soon made to feel that there was no repose for him in Giessen. Not even his father's influence could avail to protect him. His father's love, his father's roof, could no longer shelter him in the hour of danger. His youthful friends, whose hearts he had so early moved with noble purposes in the cause of human freedom, gathered round him again. He was indeed a proscribed, a persecuted man, but all generous spirits were only the more closely bound to him on that account; the stainless purity of his life, the attraction of his gentle goodness, the beauty of his holiness, the irresistible force of his calm and far-seeing intellect, his determined will, ready to execute the dictates of his reason, unbiassed by any selfish purpose, and unchecked by any selfish fear, gave him a great power. No wonder that tyrants feared him; they were right; he was a dangerous man. One man, who had been most bitterly opposed to him, said, when he heard that he had returned to Giessen, "Ah, the axe has its handle again; this will not do." Some one present spoke of the unblemished excellence of Dr. Follen's life and character; "So much the

worse," said he; "I should like him better if he had a few vices."

A friend discovered that it was the determination of the government to imprison him. His brother Augustus had been imprisoned on account of his exertions in sending up repeated petitions to the Grand Duke, urging him to fulfil the promise that he, with the other princes, had made at the Congress of Vienna, to give their people a representative government. He had been liberated; but Dr. Follen well knew that he should not escape so well. He was satisfied that his only safety was in flight, and he resolved to leave Germany. He told his family that he was going to Coblentz (he did not mention to them that he should never return), and bade them farewell for ever. His adieus to his father, whom he so dearly loved, were the last words he ever uttered to him in this world, and the parting blessings he received from him then were the last accents he ever heard of his father's voice.

It was in the winter of 1819 and 1820 that Dr. Follen left his home. His mother, in speaking of his departure, says to me, "Hearing from a good friend that he was to be imprisoned, to prevent this, he left us on the pretext of a short journey to Coblentz, — for ever, — sparing us the anguish of such a leave-taking, and went to Strasburg. To that place we sent his clothes, which were all new and good, his letters of value, and his manuscript books, by way of the Rhine. The ship took fire, and every thing was burnt, to our great distress, and still more to his,

for his manuscripts were an irreparable loss to him. This was the sad prelude to the fearful catastrophe which robbed us of him, which withdrew from us for ever his soul-inspiring influence."

Alone, persecuted, disappointed, apparently forsaken, Dr. Follen was not cast down or disheartened. He found an intense pleasure, while he was in Strasburg, in making a study of its sublime cathedral. He has often told me, that its influence upon his mind was as mysterious as it was soothing. He spent hour after hour in looking at it, and admiring its magnificence and beauty; he visited it so as to see it in all the different lights, at sunrise, at sunset, and by moonlight, and forgot himself and his sorrows in the contemplation of this glorious display of human genius and human power; he loved to ascend to the highest part of the steeple, where few had the steadiness or courage to go, and to look down upon the men and women below, who appeared like little children from the great distance. He studied architecture with his uncle Müller, whom he met with at this time, and who was employed by the government to make drawings of all the remains of Roman antiquities; he accompanied him when he went to make sketches, and he found a great pleasure in this mode of becoming initiated into the principles of beautiful proportions, and learning to understand the mute but affecting eloquence, the sublime power, of architecture.

Dr. Follen made, during this period, a visit to Paris, where he became acquainted with Lafayette, whom he loved and venerated. He was often at

La Grange, and was introduced by Lafayette to many learned and interesting men, such as the Abbé Grégoire, Benjamin Constant, Cousin, and others. His false friend, Wit, who yet wore the mask of truth, visited him this summer, and joined him on his return from Paris to Strasburg. He still found it was for his interest to be able to call Charles Follen his friend. In the disgraceful book he printed afterwards, as the price of his own security, he speaks of this time, and attributes words and expressions to his patient friend, so absurd, that when Dr. Follen read them, he smiled very calmly, and said, "He is a fool;" and never thought of it again.

After the murder of the Duke of Berri, an order was passed by the French government, commanding all foreigners to quit France, who had not some specified business there, which should meet with the sanction of the government. As Dr. Follen had no other occupation there but the study of the French language and literature, and the society of some great and good men, he was compelled to leave the country. He was now again a fugitive; and he knew not where to turn his steps. Just at this time the Countess of Benzel Sternau, who knew his story, invited him to come directly to her country-seat upon the Lake of Zurich, in Switzerland. They were not personally acquainted. She was influenced solely by her deep respect for his character. He accepted her kindness simply on the ground of his faith in her sincerity and goodness. There, for a while, surrounded by the lovely scenery upon the banks of

the beautiful lake of Zurich, in the midst of the refined society of this accomplished and noble-minded lady and her friends, he enjoyed the most delicious repose. He loved to expatiate upon the pleasure he received in this beautiful spot; and he could not speak of the devoted kindness of this lovely and magnanimous woman towards him, at a moment when he was homeless in his native land, and was in such need of friendship, without the deepest emotion. He used to speak to me of the pleasure he took in climbing up into a very large old willow tree in her garden, and remaining there for hours looking down upon the lake. He loved her beautiful boy, whom he tried to teach some gymnastic exercises. He hoped to see her again in this world, and thank her for her disinterested, generous goodness towards him, when the favor of the world, and even of many professed friends, had apparently deserted him. Not many years since, he gave some friends, who were going to Zurich, a letter to this dear and honored woman. She received them as if they were her own friends. She showed them his favorite tree in her garden, which seemed to be consecrated by her to his memory, and sent him a message of the tenderest love, which was most gratefully welcomed by him and those who loved him in his American home.

CHAPTER VII.

Receives an Invitation from the Cantonal School of the Grisons in Switzerland. — Leaves Chur for Basle. — Is appointed Teacher of the Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical Law at Basle. — He goes to Paris. — Returns to Basle. — He is denounced by the Holy Alliance. — He demands a Trial by the Laws of Switzerland. — The Government of Basle refuse to deliver him up. — An Order of Arrest is issued. — He leaves Basle.

In the September of this year, while he was at Zurich, Dr. Follen received an invitation to become a professor at the cantonal school of the Grisons in Switzerland, which he determined to accept. The kind friend, who had given him such a blessed asylum, urged him to make her house his permanent home ; but he could not submit to any approach to a state of dependence, even upon her ; and, with a grateful and sorrowful heart, he bade her farewell for ever.

In his own handwriting I find the following translation of the letter of invitation which he received from Chur, and an account of the causes which led him to resign his place there, after a residence of less than a year.

" The Evangelical Council of Education of the Canton of the Grisons, to Professor Follen.

" Sir, — The Evangelical Council of Education of the Canton will lose, in a few days, one of its ablest and most faithful teachers, Mr. Herbert. He himself proposed you for his temporary successor. Without this proposal, and his assurance of your consent, we should hardly have ventured to apply to you, who had already established a chair in higher schools, to fill this place until either Mr. Herbert shall have it in his power to return, to our school, or, if you could not resolve to replace him entirely, in case he should not return, to remain, at least till another able successor may be found, in which case, however, you will enter upon the same salary of one thousand florins, which he has hitherto received.

" Should you be inclined, Sir, to devote your time and your learning to our Rhetian youth, you are hereby most kindly invited to do so. That which the more enlightened Germans are yet striving to attain, a free constitution and unbounded liberty for the developement of the mind, you will find among us in a higher degree, perhaps, than even the German himself might find desirable for his native country ; and it would be superfluous to observe to you, that the democratical young Swiss needs, in regard to his future relation to the commonwealth, a guidance different from that of the young German, who is to be brought up for monarchical institutions.

" You will also find the wish of the Council not improper, that you should abstain, during your ap-

pointment at our school, from any other political connexion. Please to recognise, in this call of the Council, the feelings of true esteem and affection it bears towards you.

"The President,
"J. W. SPRECHER BERNEGG.
"In the name of the Council of Education,
"The Secretary,
"FLORIAN WETT.
"*Chur*, 15*th September*, 1820."

In his lectures on history, to the higher classes of the college, in explaining the gradual propagation of Christianity, Dr. Follen endeavoured to trace the great revolutions effected by the doctrines of Christ, particularly to the two great principles, that there is but one spiritual God, and that all men ought to love one another as brothers, and strive after godlike perfection. These principles, so far as they were consistently practised upon, must have led to the destruction of the basis of all heathenish institutions, idolatry, and unnatural distinctions among men. He represented Jesus as inspired, and commissioned by God to guide men to infinite perfection and eternal happiness, without entering at all into controversial theology, as being foreign to his purpose of explaining the historical consequences of the Gospel. The warmth, with which this simple doctrine was received by the young men, who had been brought up in gloomy and perplexed religious ideas, roused the fanatic zeal of some highly Calvinistic ministers, who spread an

alarm through the canton, that Dr. Follen had denied the Godhead of Christ Jesus, the doctrines of original sin and the absolute moral depravity of man. Dr. Follen refused the offer of one of the most distinguished theologians of Switzerland publicly to defend his doctrine, and tried, by private explanation, to appease the zealots. But, when he saw that all his endeavours proved insufficient to guard the cantonal school against sinister aspersions, he asked of the evangelical synod of the canton an audience at their next meeting, for the purpose of defending the principles he had advanced as founded on Scripture. The audience was granted, and the accusers were asked to come forward with their charges. But the synod, as soon as they had despatched their most urgent affairs, and the moderator asked them to attend to Dr. Follen's controversy, dissolved the meeting with inordinate haste. Dr. Follen then requested the moderator, who was generally considered as being at the head of the Calvinistic clergy, to certify, by an authentic document, the fact of Dr. Follen's application to the synod for an audience, and of its sudden dissolution, when they were called upon to attend to this matter.

The following is a copy of this document.

" Dr. Follen, of Giessen, in Darmstadt, late professor of the Latin language and of universal histotory at the evangelical college of this canton, has, by his luminous lectures and kind treatment of the pupils, acquired their respect, attachment, and confidence, in a high degree. Accused of some heretical doctrines,

which he was said to have expressed in his lectures, he requested of me, the undersigned Moderator of the Evangelical Synod of this year, an audience before this assembly, for the purpose of justifying himself. This request was granted to him, but its fulfilment was prevented by the accelerated rising of the synodal assembly, and by no other cause. This I certify, upon his demand, by signing it with my own hand, and adding the seal of the Evangelical Church Council of the Canton of the Grisons.

"*Chur, June* 30*th*, 1821.

"D. S. BENEDICT,

"Moderator of the Evangelical Synod of the Canton of the Grisons for the present year, and President of the Evangelical Church Council, &c., of Chur."

Before the rising of the synodal assembly took place, Dr. Follen had offered to the Council of Education, to state to them, openly and precisely, his whole opinion concerning the abovementioned principles, as well as all he had taught about them in the school. He then desired them to order an open inquiry to be held among his pupils. But he, on the other hand, asked them to reverse those secret proceedings and inquiries, which had been instituted among his pupils by the directors of the school. The council declared themselves willing to abide by the statement of Dr. Follen, without any inquiry among the scholars; but they refused to reverse the proceeding of the directors. Dr. Follen then asked of the Council of Education his dismission from the

school, which he received, with the following letter from its President.

"The President of the Evangelical Council of Education, of the Canton of the Grisons, to Professor Charles Follen:

"Sir,

"I understand that you will soon leave this place. Though your employment in our institution was but provisory, and (as you yourself asked your dismission) not of so long duration as we should have wished, I feel bound to express to you, before your departure, the thanks of the Council of Education, for the zeal and diligence with which you have instructed our youth during your incumbency. The last examination gave us the most satisfactory proofs of your eminent talents as a teacher, of your thorough knowledge and learning in all the branches which are usually studied in a college, and of your well-meditated method of teaching. Thus we can only congratulate the university that shall possess you for the future, as a teacher; and, besides, the love and attachment of your scholars, which you have succeeded in acquiring in so short a time, must be to you a sweet reward for the pains you have taken with them.

"Wishing you, with all my heart, a situation adapted to your learning and talents, and secured against the storms of life, I beg you to receive, together with these feelings, the assurance of my true respect.

"J. W. SPRECHER BERNEGG,

"President of the Council of Education.

"*Chur, July 17th*, 1821."

Some of the young men whom Dr. Follen had taught at Chur, and who had shown a great interest in his instructions, as well as a strong personal regard for him, sent him, as a testimonial of their respect and love, John von Müller's History of Switzerland, with these words written in the first page, and their names subscribed.

"To their dearly beloved teacher, Charles Follen. A token of remembrance, from the Senior Class of the Cantonal School of Rhætia, who remember his instructions with great delight.

[Signed,]

"Battaglia, Marx,
Brofy, Michel,
Cavinzal, Fenner,
Heinrich, Walther.
Hermann,

"*Chur*, 1821."

During Dr. Follen's residence in Chur, a demand was made by the Congress of Troppau, that the government of the Canton would give him up to them, to be tried by the laws they had made against all persons engaged in revolutionary movements. In this council the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, announced the principle of armed intervention, and a determined and open hostility towards any constitution which deviated from a true monarchy. This was the first of the demands of the allied sovereigns against Dr. Follen's liberty. It is a singular fact that those powerful monarchs should

have thought their power endangered by a simple lecturer in an obscure nook of the world, who was engaged in teaching the true principles of liberty, as he found them laid down in the words of Jesus; it seems strange, that these mighty men should have been so alarmed as to think it necessary for their own safety, to crush this still, small voice, which the young mountaineers were listening to with such a heartfelt eagerness. It is to the glory, the true honor, of this small, but noble spirited government, that they promptly refused the demand.

But while, throughout Germany, the Allied Sovereigns were endeavouring to suppress every germ of freedom, and particularly to convert the higher institutions of learning into nurseries of despotism, a new light of hope for the depressed liberty of mind seemed to shine in Switzerland.

The university of Basle, so celebrated in the time of the great church reformation in the sixteenth century, but afterwards fallen to decay, had been newly organized in 1817, by the government of that republic. Several professorships, which, till that time, had been only sinecures, were then provided with learned men from Germany, who were obliged to leave their country for political opinions. Soon after it was known that Dr. Follen was going to leave Chur, he was appointed as a public lecturer at the university of Basle, where he taught the natural, the civil, and the ecclesiastical law, besides some branches of metaphysics, viz. logic, and the philosophy of the mind, in its application to religion, morals, legislation, and

the fine arts. He edited, together with Dr. De Wette and some other professors of the university, the literary journal (Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift) of the university of Basle; which contains two treatises of his, "on the Destiny of Man," and "on the Doctrine of Spinoza," particularly in regard to law and morals.

Dr. Follen's residence in Basle was a very happy period of his life. He had a fine set of young men to instruct, and found great pleasure in the occupation; he has often said to me, "I am sure that I did something towards awaking, in their young minds, principles and purposes that would never sleep again till they had brought forth the glorious fruit of Christian freedom." He was surrounded by near and dear friends. There was De Wette, as gentle and kind as he was learned and wise; his step-son, Dr. Beck, who afterwards came with him to America; Dr. Yung and his excellent lady; these and many other devoted and dearly beloved friends made life happy to him.

Another dear hope dawned upon his existence at this time; he became attached to a young lady, the sister of a very dear friend, and, in the autumn of 1823, they were engaged to be married. These were beautiful days; life was full of promise to him; he did not forget his first love, he did not relinquish his hope, or slacken his efforts for the cause, of Christian freedom; he never could but with life. Freedom, in its highest and noblest sense, was the light and life of his being. In his direct instructions upon the natural and indefeasible rights of every human being,

in his own practical regard for the rights of all, in his pure life, free from the bondage of sin and selfishness, he was ever proclaiming the gospel of freedom. While the friends of liberty rejoiced, tyrants were alarmed, when they heard that in Switzerland, the only free state of the Continent of Europe, this new temple of freedom was erected. Already some young men from Prussia had come to study at Basle, when the Prussian government issued a prohibition against its subjects visiting that university. But this seemed not yet to satisfy the Holy Alliance. They took advantage of the political debility of Switzerland, caused by her own governments, to deprive the growing university of some of its most liberal teachers, intimidating the others, as well as the government itself. Dr. Follen was, of course, a marked man; he was advised to leave Basle, and, in consequence of the entreaties of his friends, he went, for a few days, to Baden, where he remained in concealment. In the spring of 1824 he went to Paris. Here Lafayette, with whom he passed much of his time, introduced him to the American Minister, Mr. Brown, and urged him to accompany him to America; but he refused, on the ground that leaving Basle without being forced to do so, would be taken as an acknowledgment of the right of his persecutors to remove him. Upon his return from Paris he stopped awhile in the vicinity of Zurich; here his eldest brother, who was then married, visited him, and here they must have met for the last time. Some friends from Basle also visited him; they all felt as-

sured that he could not remain there in safety, but Dr. Follen determined upon returning to his duties in the university. On the 27th of August, 1824, the government of Basle received three notes from the governments of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, which demanded that Dr. Follen and Dr. S——, Professors of law at Basle, should be given up to the tribunal of inquisition, which the King of Prussia had established at Kaepnick, near Berlin. They were accused, in these notes, of being the chief movers in a grand conspiracy, tending to subvert the monarchical state of Germany, for which purpose they still abused the neutrality of Switzerland, in which they had taken refuge. These three notes were supported by two others from the German governments of Hesse-Darmstadt and Nassau, demanding likewise that the two professors, being their born subjects, should be delivered up to the common tribunal of inquisition at Kaepnick.

The government of Berne, at that time the directorial Canton of Switzerland, joined to these five notes an urgent request that the government of Basle would not, for the sake of individuals, hazard the welfare of the country. The government of Basle summoned the two professors to give an explanation of these accusations. Dr. Follen declared, "that all these political accusations were as unfounded as vague." He maintained that he himself was not bound to appear before the tribunal of Kaepnick, and that Switzerland, and particularly the government of Basle, was neither obliged nor entitled to deliver him up to the foreign powers.

With regard to Prussia, Austria, and Russia, he never was under any obligation to them; and the obligations, which, as a native of Hesse, he had to that country, had ceased; for, after having acquitted himself of his military duty, as a volunteer, during the war of 1813 and 1814, he had emigrated from thence, and become a member of another state. He was appointed professor at the Cantonal School of the Canton of Grisons in 1820, and afterwards at the University of Basle. The public authorities of both Cantons would testify that he had always conscientiously discharged the duties of his office, and that his private life was irreproachable.

Being now a member of the Canton of Basle, and of Switzerland at large, if he had committed an offence, he had an incontestable right to be judged by no other laws, and no other tribunals, than those of the state to which he belonged. Nevertheless, he was now demanded by foreign governments, which had no authority over him, to be given up to a tribunal of political inquisition, which, by the Prussian law, that is to say, by the King's absolute will, was free from every legal tie. Could there be any doubts that these attempts against his liberty were really attempts against the liberty of Switzerland herself? A state which would permit that one of its subjects should be judged by the laws and tribunals of another state, would resign its own sovereignty and political existence. Particular compacts, by which alone a commonwealth can be bound to deliver up its inhabitants, did not exist between Swit-

zerland and the five abovementioned powers. Therefore Switzerland could not give him up without violating her national honor, her independence, and her duties towards one of her members.

If the foreign governments really believed that he had abused the neutrality of Switzerland, to disturb the peace of their states, they were bound to send in their accusations, with a distinct description of the alleged offences, and with all the necessary proofs. The accusations they had now sent, vague and unfounded as they were, were not fit to be submitted to the serious examination of a court. They deserved the less credit, as the irregularity in the administration of these governments was so great, that some years ago they had called upon the Cantons of Switzerland to deliver up or to banish an individual, whom one of these governments, some time before, had intrusted with a public office in its own dominions, where he then and afterwards quietly lived, discharging the duties of his office. Before the independent court of the independent state to which he belonged, his accusers ought to be considered but as private persons. Therefore the government of Basle, whose protection he chiefly and entirely relied on, might summon them to send in their complaints against him, with the requisite charges, to be investigated by the competent tribunal of the Canton. He the more hoped that this request would be granted, as the Canton of the Grisons had rejected similar demands and accusations which were brought against him by the Congress of Troppau, when he was a teacher at Chur. Dr. S——

made similar declarations. The citizens of Basle, and all true Swiss, perceived that in this case not only two persons, but the honor and independence of their country were at stake. The government of Basle, convinced of the justice of the above declarations, and encouraged by the public opinion, refused the demand of the foreign governments, and required them to communicate charges, that the case might be investigated and decided by the courts of the Canton.

But, soon after, three new notes arrived from the Ambassadors of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. They pretended, "that the good understanding, which subsisted between Switzerland and the three great powers, required her to believe them at their word. That Basle would destroy this good understanding, if it should delay to deliver the demanded persons, by insisting upon the communication of charges." These new demands were aided by urgent letters from the three most important Swiss governments of Berne, Zurich, and Lucerne.

The united endeavours of the external and internal enemies of liberty broke, at last, the spirit of the government of Basle; though, according to the constitution of Switzerland, not even the whole confederation had a right to compel it to yield to the foreign demands. The government resolved to resign their right of judging this case; and, as they were told that the delivering of Dr. S —— was not so much urged as that of Dr. Follen, (whose lectures on natural law had probably rendered him more obnoxious to the Holy Alliance,) they tried, by giving up

the latter, to save the former, who, as the father of a large family, seemed to have a stronger claim to their protection.

Dr. Follen was advised to depart. He refused to go, and insisted upon a legal trial. The government thereupon compelled him to quit the Canton, by passing a resolution to arrest him. He then left the city, thankful for the patriotic interest which many citizens had displayed in his cause. To the government he sent the following declaration.

"Whereas the *Republic* of Switzerland, which has protected so many fugitive princes, noblemen, and priests, would not protect him, who, like them, is a *republican*, he is compelled to take refuge in the great asylum of liberty, the United States of America. His false accusers he summons before the tribunal of God and public opinion. Laws he has never violated. But the heinous crime of having loved his country has rendered him guilty to such a degree, that he feels quite unworthy to be pardoned by the Holy Alliance."

Dr. Follen asked of the university a public testimony of his conduct, which was granted; though he did not receive it till after his arrival in this country. The following is a translation of this document.

"The highly honored and learned Doctor of the Civil and Ecclesiastical law, Charles Follen, has discharged, during a term of three years, his duty as a

public teacher of metaphysics and jurisprudence in our university of Basle with great diligence. He has, accordingly, not only conciliated to himself great esteem from his colleagues, but has also deserved well of the students. He always, like a good man and citizen, has manifested a friendly disposition towards his fellow teachers, and shown becoming respect to the magistrates of the republic and the government of this university, and has rendered his disciples obliged and attached to him in the highest degree. This, at his request, is hereby testified by the professor of every faculty of the university of Basle, and confirmed, at their order, with the university seal, by

The Rector,

"JOHN RUDOLPH BURCKHARDT.

Basle, 26th October, 1824." *

* This statement of the causes of Dr. Follen's leaving Basle was written by himself.

CHAPTER VIII.

His Flight from Basle. — He goes to Paris. — Leaves Paris for Havre. — Sails in the *Cadmus* for America. — Extracts from his Journal. — He arrives in New York. — Writes to Lafayette. — Goes to Philadelphia. — Prepares a Course of Lectures. — Is invited to teach the German Language in Harvard College.

As soon as it was known in Basle, that an order of arrest had been actually issued against Dr. Follen, and that nothing but flight could save him from the tender mercies of the Holy Alliance, every means of escape was offered him, not only by his friends, but by those who were comparatively strangers to him. A friend took him out of the city, secreted under the boot of his chaise ; and a young man, whose personal appearance resembled his, offered him his passport. This act of kindness was the more affecting to Dr. Follen, as his benefactor was but slightly acquainted with him ; and exposed himself to the very heavy penalties of the law, in case this benevolent offence were discovered, solely from respect for his character and conduct.

Dr. Follen took a seat in the mail coach for Paris, as this was not only the shortest, but the least suspicious mode of travelling. He left Basle on the 27th

of October, and arrived in Paris on the 30th. There he found his friend, Dr. Beck, who had left Basle a few days before, and who, as he fully anticipated the result of the persecutions of Dr. Follen, which had actually taken place, was daily expecting his arrival. Dr. Beck was convinced, that none of those, who were known to hold liberal opinions, would stand any chance of success in Germany, and that even Switzerland was no longer a safe asylum for the friends of freedom; and, as he was known to be of that party, he determined to seek a place of refuge in this country.

In Paris, Dr. Follen saw, once more, the lady to whom he was engaged. He took leave of her with the cheering hope, that, as soon as he had found some adequate means of support that would authorize such a step, he should return to bring her, as his wife, to his American home. He and Dr. Beck proceeded immediately to Havre. They were obliged, on account of some delay about the carriage, to stop a short time at Rouen. Notwithstanding that he was flying for his life, Dr. Follen improved this delay in examining all that was interesting to him in this ancient city. He made many particular inquiries about Joan of Arc. He satisfied himself, that his impressions were just, of the purity and excellence of the character of this much injured woman. Among other facts relating to her, which were new to him, he learned that she possessed extraordinary business talents. He speaks, in his journal, of the glorious view of the city from the neighbouring hill. Thus, as he fled from the old world that discarded him, did

he turn once more to render homage to the natural and moral beauty it exhibited. Surely this was from him an appropriate farewell.

They arrived at Havre on the 1st of November, and immediately engaged their passage in the *Cadmus*; the same vessel, in which Lafayette, a few months before, had urged Dr. Follen to accompany him to America.

Dr. Follen stated frankly to Captain Allen his whole case, and told him that it was possible, that his pursuers might overtake him, and make him a prisoner, even when he was in the ship. The Captain promptly replied, that if he would give himself up to him, he would put him where no *gens d'armes* could touch him. He never spoke of the ready, generous confidence of Captain Allen without grateful emotion. The *Cadmus* was ready for sea, and was to sail the next day; but the wind was contrary, and continued so till the 5th. These were anxious days to the poor exiles, most especially to Dr. Follen. He has often spoken to me of his sufferings during these four days. Until then he had scarcely felt fear. The rapid travelling, and necessary arrangements for his departure, had left him but little time for thought; but, now that he had not the necessity of action, he experienced a keen sense of the danger that hung over him. He had been told, that it was intended to make an example of him, in order to deter other young men from following in his steps; and he was convinced, that an ignominious death, or imprisonment for life, awaited him if he should be arrested.

At last, on the 5th, the wind was fair, and the *Cadmus* ready for sailing. They waited only for the officer to come on board, and return them their passports. The Captain showed Dr. Follen where he could effectually secrete himself. Fear had hung heavily upon his spirits for four days. For a moment he hesitated. But so great was his repugnance to hiding himself, like a culprit, that he resolved to remain on deck with the other passengers, and meet his fate.

When the officer came on board, he immediately returned his passport to every one but Dr. Follen, who noticed that he cast a disagreeable, scrutinizing look at him, which made him half repent his rejection of the Captain's offer. He, however, immediately approached the officer, and demanded his passport, which, after another scrutinizing survey, was returned to him.

His joy at his escape from personal danger, with the excitement at being for the first time upon the ocean, aided him greatly to bear the deep sadness of heart, which he felt at quitting for ever his fatherland, his dear home, and all which that blessed word comprises, the chosen friends of his heart, and the long-cherished hopes for his country's freedom, for which he had sacrificed so much. All the externals of his being had changed and vanished like a dream. But that, which was life to him, was still the same; —faith, and hope, and love remained to him. He has often said to me, in speaking of his feelings at that time, that the heaven-bounded ocean, the illimitable

sky, the invisible winds, were his best companions and comforters; that their influence was irresistible, in soothing and elevating his mind, and preparing him to meet, with courage, the unknown future which lay before him.

It was then, that his thoughts returned with new energy and devotion to religion, which, from his earliest youth, had been the subject of his deepest and holiest interest, and most profound and faithful study. As we have seen, when but a boy he aspired after something more perfect, more spiritual, than he found in what was called religion by those around him.

In his Preface to "Religion and the Church," written some years after this time, he says, "More than twenty years ago, when I was pursuing my studies in a German university, I felt strongly impressed with the inefficacy of the established forms of faith and worship. Their unfitness to satisfy the spiritual wants of my own nature, and to quicken the religious affections and energies of the people, called up in my mind the image of a universal church, a church of mankind, having no other foundation and support, than the natural interest of men in religion.

"The true interests of the church, that is, the religious interests of man, seemed to me most effectually secured, by relying wholly and solely on the principles of individual freedom and intimate spiritual intercourse among men, and the tendency to infinite progress in human nature.

"This early philosophic vision, mixed up with some extraneous and heterogenous notions, has never

faded from my mind, but continued to grow clearer, and more inspiring to action, although unfavorable circumstances, and a conscientious apprehension of the unripeness of some of my views, prevented any attempt at carrying it into effect. . Many stray thoughts, and some continuous arguments were committed to writing at different times. Some of the leading ideas, in the first chapter of this tract, were published in 1823, in the 'Annals of Basle,' in an article on the 'Destination of Man.' Twelve years ago, when crossing the Atlantic, to commence life anew in a new world, that long cherished scheme of religious philanthropy was ever before my mind, as the only star of promise amidst the gloom of disappointed hopes, baffled exertions, and broken bonds of affection. Many passages, now first published, were composed on that voyage."

This was not Dr. Follen's only occupation during this voyage. He, with his friend Dr. Beck, studied a German work they had taken with them, upon the constitution of the United States. The Declaration of American Independence had, in his early youth, inspired him with enthusiastic admiration. It was upon this country, that he rested his faith in the possibility of freedom. Here, in our favored land, he believed that all his golden dreams might be realized. This faith he never relinquished.

Dr. Follen endeavoured, during the voyage, to acquire some knowledge of the English language. He kept a journal, from which I make the following extracts. They have a value, as they prove a cheerful

and observing state of mind, never dwelling on past failures, but hoping and trusting for the future.

" Departure in the *Cadmus*, 5th November, 1824. Cloudy weather. Coast of France (Normandy).

" 5th and 6th. Coast of England, very distinct.

" 7th November. Wood upon a large range of hills, and a village, near the shore ; near Plymouth. Sea-sick ten days ; one day very miserable. Resistance to imagination. Walking about and helping on deck.

" 15th. An American brig ; sailed from Liverpool 25th October. The Captains saluted each other, and conversed through the speaking trumpet.

" 19th November. Storm. All sails taken in. Wind so violent, that one is obliged to bend down the face, not to lose one's breath. Quiet on board the ship, and uproar in the water. A lively image of Switzerland endowed with life. The black waves, with their green and white edgings, resemble those walls of rocks with their ice and snow glory. At other times the *Cadmus* carried eighteen sails. I was right well.

* " Auch auf dem hölzernen *Fische*,
Hier mitten im Wassergezische
Schwingt das Herz,
Frei von Schmertz,
Frei wie die Lerche sich himmelwärts.

" Stürmt nur, ihr wilden Gewässer,
Wir werden nicht röther nicht blässer,

* This song Dr. Follen often sung. He composed the music and the words at the same time.

Meergebraus,
Sturmgesaus,
Ist für die Tapfern ein Ohrenschmaus.

"Wenngleich mit wildem Gelüsten,
Am Mast die Wasser sich küssten,
Freiheitsmuth,
Liebesgluth,
Brennt auch in Sturm und in Wasserfluth."

"Hast du mich lieb, oh so gib mir die Hand,
Lass uns wandern, lass uns ziehn,
Mit der Sonne nach Westen hin;
Dort an des Meeres anderm Strand,
Dort ist der Freiheit, dort der Menschheit Vaterland."

"Suchst du hienieden,
Häuslichen Frieden?
Häuslicher Frieden blüht,
Nur wo der Freiheit Sonne glüht." *

* The first and third of these poems lose so much of their power and beauty by a metrical translation, that I have thought it best to give only their literal meaning in English. The second, which is very literal, and in the true spirit of the original, is by a friend.

"In this great wooden fish,
Here in the midst of the hissing waters,
Soars the heart,
Free from sorrow,
Free as the lark, heavenwards.

"Let the wild waves storm; —
We become neither redder nor paler.
The rushing of the storm,
The roaring of the ocean,
Is sweet to the ear of the brave.

"November 20th. Almost equally stormy. By turns, rain, rainbow, and sunshine. Then the waves, blown up by the wind, dissolve into showers of mist, and the rain descends. Heaven and sea form one world of tempest and mist. Lightning in the evening over the sea. We sail quite southwards, because the sea is more calm.

"November 24th and 25th. Mild and damp weather. Sensations as in the mountains of the Grisons; headache and swelling of the veins.

26th. Warm and dry, a glorious spring day; the sky perfectly blue. Saw in the morning one of the Azores, considerable mountains.

29th. Storm. The Captain had us secured to the rope ladders. The Captain promises, after this, generally good weather; until now every cloud brought a storm, now only rain.

"December 10th. Bermudas, a long island and a bold rock near it; wood upon it. Rocks running

"Though with wild desire,
Above the masts the waters kiss each other,
The spirit of freedom,
The glow of love,
Burns in the storm and on the flood."

"O, dost thou love me? Give me, then, thy hand.
Let us wander, let us fly,
With the sun, to a western sky.
There, on the ocean's other strand,
There, there is freedom, there is manhood's father-land."

"Seekest thou lowly
Household peace?
Household peace only blooms
Where the sun of freedom shines."

into the sea. Everywhere white spots (probably rocks of sand stone) and bastions. A pilot came near, inquiring whether we intended to enter. We saw, at the distance of half a league, houses and a church. Many English ships on the shores of the islands. Beautiful scenery; lights in the houses, on shore, exciting home feelings. Venus bright and full; threw a long streak of light over the sea. Once more, in the morning, a sight of the island; around the southern side of which we sailed. Soon, violent wind, as in sailing round the Azores.

13th. Thermometer put in the water, 71°. This was done to determine whether we were in the Gulf Stream; not yet in the Stream.

14th. The same state of the thermometer. 15th. In the afternoon the thermometer rose suddenly to 76.°

16th. Cold; beautiful sky. In the evening about five leagues from the American coast; which, however, is very low, and therefore not visible. We were near Cape Hatteras. Saw, on that day, seven ships.

17th. Strong east wind; clear and cold. The Captain and lieutenants say we shall breakfast in New York to-morrow or at least dine. The cold increased, in the course of the day, perceptibly. On the 16th, in the afternoon, passed the coast of North Carolina; on the 17th, in the morning, Virginia; in the afternoon Maryland.

18th. Abominable weather. We cannot see a quarter of a league, and cannot, therefore, run into the harbour. We sailed several times towards southeast to avoid the shore; but the most part of the time we had two sails spread in opposite directions, so

that the ship moved neither forwards nor backwards. Soundings were made every few minutes, the ship requiring sixteen feet of water. In the evening splendid starlight. We steer again towards New York.

19th. Rose at six. Splendid starlight. Three light-houses from the promised land. Near Sandy Hook. The edge of the shore already distinguishable. The Captain had suspended a light towards the light-houses; soon a sloop came towards us, from which a person leaped into a boat and came on board the *Cadmus*. It was the pilot, to whom our Captain left the command of the vessel. Now followed a constant change of the ship's course; so that sometimes we approached, sometimes receded from the coast. On our right Long Island; on the left Staten Island, with the great hospital of New York near the sea. Then the Fort Lafayette, a round bastion in the midst of the sea. The bay is so narrow, that small objects can be recognised on both sides. With the rays of the morning sun came the sound of bells from New York; it happened to be Sunday. A boy on the shore of Staten Island. Shore of New Jersey. Soon the glittering spires of New York rose to view. North and East rivers. A forest of masts. Ships, of every description, all around the city. All the shops closed on Sunday."

"Recollections of the ship, written soon afterwards.

"Usual color of the sea iron black; near the shore greenish and yellowish; of various colors at the rising and setting of the sun, mostly violet. The day

is somewhat monotonous; the night beautiful. In the latitude of the Azores the moon and stars shine more brilliantly sun-like. Shining of the sea; small, very bright sparks in great numbers, especially where the friction is strongest, at the prow and stern; there nothing but waves and currents of light. I have not seen any after midnight, but frequently in nights partially or entirely dark, sometimes beneath the foam, sometimes openly floating, sometimes floating slowly along, as far as the eye could follow. It arises, I think, from phosphorus, rather than insects, for the waves of light, near the stern, of a very different size, seem to be of the same kind as the sparkles of light. When we see the sun half under the water, it appears as if it shone through from the other side. The thousand sparkling little lights shine from under a floating veil of waves. Sunrise only once seen in such a way, that the sun seemed to spring forth immediately from the waves, without first going behind clouds. Full two minutes after its appearance, before it wholly leaves the water; at last it keeps its fiery fort no longer in the wave. Porpoises on the surface of the water, playing sportively. Small flying-fish; the bat among fishes. A whale spouting from the water. Whole fields of floating sea-weed as we came near the current of the Gulf Stream. We fished up a quantity, and found attached to it numerous small muscle shells. We were four in the cabin, eight in the steerage. All French except ourselves, and a man who speaks the three languages, and seems to have taken to himself the worst of all notions; he is nothing in himself.

The rest common *Schmeissfliegen*, except Phiguepal, with four pupils whom he has brought with him from France. He has been eight years in Paris, connected with an institution for education, which, however, cannot succeed with the present government, on which account he is going back to Philadelphia, where he was fourteen years since. We are agreed in political views; in religious and in philosophical systems quite different. Two old gamesters. Black cook, mulatto servants. Steward, the master of sports. This the whole home establishment at sea. The goat devours wood, paper, clothes.

"The barber observes the weather, in order to decide whether he can shave to-day or not. Twelve sailors on the yards, in a storm, to reef the sails. In our ship the rule is, that nothing is impossible; in the French, on the contrary, they assume that possible things are impossible.

"White, fleecy clouds over the other clouds, announce west wind; it happened twice according to the prediction of the Captain; the last time I noticed it myself. Phiguepal insists it is false, that all the Moors, excepting a few individuals, were born white."

"New York and Philadelphia.

"De Rham, a merchant to whom we were recommended by Iselin of Basle, exchanged our money at five per cent.; recommended us to his brother-in-law, Moore, Professor of Philology in New York, and to a clergyman named Schäffer. The latter thought, that,

if we understood English, we could find occupation in New York. He promised us every assistance, if we should not succeed in Philadelphia. We lodge in a French boarding-house, kept by Madame De Lille; five dollars a week for board and lodging. Cooking in the French style, very good. Principally French lodgers; a frivolous set, most of them quite unhappy, because no one regards, in the least, their national or personal vanity. They have a bad reputation, on account of their irreligious mode of thinking, and their immoral lives. Mostly thorough atheists; a few old royalists, with fawning and artificial manners, by which they spoil a good dinner. A great many Jews, some of good character, others very bad. Society of young German merchants. Poles. On going out, severe pain in the teeth. Dentist. A great many dentists in New York. Athenæum, Museum, particularly of objects in natural history. Somewhat confused, but some excellent specimens in the animal kingdom. Bust of Lafayette, very like. Porter and oyster houses. Trip to Long Island; horse boat and steamboat. Splendid view. From Fort Lafayette the old hero received the first salute of cannon. A ball in New York, in which six thousand persons took part; each person paid five dollars entrance. Brilliant festival in all respects. Broadway. At noon a great promenade for the gay world. The ladies extremely showy in their dress; but not all tasteful; nothing national. French fashions; great variety of colors worn together. Extraordinary increase of population. The houses neat, but not

grand; at least one drawing-room. Whisky punch. New Year's eve; noise, hubbub, and singing in the streets. The best point of view in the city is from the church, from which one overlooks the City Hall, Broadway, and Chatham Street. Beautiful walk on the Battery, at the mouth of the North River. The finest ships are the packet ships to Liverpool. Great steamboats on the North River to Albany. Choice of Clinton by the Democratic party. Schäffer's preference for German literature, and his familiar acquaintance with it. He would have made us acquainted with Clinton, but he was absent. Letter to Lafayette. Our situation. Answer of the 2d of January. Advice to go to Cambridge, &c. Departure for Philadelphia. Meeting with a Brazilian, who was banished by the Emperor as an insurgent. He wished to be independent of Portugal, but to have unlimited power. 'I trust the Emperor,' he said, 'as much as he trusts me, for he knows that I understand him.' Freedom is called, in Brazil, *liebschaft*.

"Arrived on the 12th of January, with recommendations to the Rev. Mr. Schäffer. Letter to the learned Du Ponceau. Acquaintance with Rev. Mr. Schweitzerbart; he told me of Rapp and his colony, who have returned to their former situation on the Ohio. His people believe of him, that he will not die; for example, when the bridge, which he had caused to be built, broke when he was upon it, and he was precipitated into the water, the people think that, if he had not been drawn out, he would have been somehow saved. He compares his Harmonists with

the people of Israel, and himself with Moses, and threatens the like punishment if they disobey him. No one dares marry without his consent. He requires the most implicit devotion. He does not, indeed, forbid marriage; but he wishes the people to consider it as forbidden; because he considers his followers as the angels in heaven, and recommends a like angelic purity, requiring of the real Harmonists a separation of the sexes. Hence quarrels arise frequently among married people, which he must reconcile. But the blind faith in him has diminished.

"The painter, Drechsler. Doughty; a young man, good in designing, imperfect in finishing. Scenes on the Schuylkill. Museum, mammoth, remarkable bones from the neck, very old and badly preserved remains. Fine manner of uniting the doors of two houses similarly built, thus making a common entrance, by which means the two houses have the appearance of one large one. The western part of the city poorly built. Water-works. Penitentiary.

"Wednesday, January 19th. We left the German boarding-house of Block, and came to Madame Andale's, 260 Arch Street, whose daughter is our English teacher. West's picture, in a building appropriated to it. Dead coloring. Christ stands too much in the foreground, as if he were there rather on account of the spectators, than of the sick; he stands there for himself, not one with the picture; his glance not directed to any particular object. The sick are best represented. The arm of the bearer of the old man, on the right side of the picture, is drawn too

thick and too long. The Apostles old and hoary-looking. Many Americans praise it beyond measure, without knowledge of the art. In the description it is stated that the artist, in order to complete the expression of pity, has somewhat expanded the nostrils of Christ, as takes place in sighing.

"We are learning by heart, that we may know how to spell.

"Mrs. Andale says, that she has seen General Washington carry home from market, in his own hands, a partridge which he had been buying. Excellent letter from Lafayette, telling me of Professor Ticknor, and Mr. Du Ponceau, who wished me to give him a narrative of our persecution, to put in the newspaper. Mr. Du Ponceau is regarded as one of the most learned and able jurists, not as an orator, but as a counsellor, by which he has amassed a large fortune.

"Strength of parties for Adams and Jackson. Clay gave his vote for the former, who was accordingly elected. Professor Ticknor's unexpected arrival at the beginning of February. He promises Dr. Beck to write for him to Northampton, to the very person to whom De Wette's recommendation is addressed, the director of a flourishing institution for education, Mr. G. Bancroft. Dr. Beck has received from Mr. Bancroft a letter of invitation to stay at his house. Promise of the place of Greek and Latin Professor. Beck will go the 14th of February. Various sports of the children under a large window, which served as a door. A large collection in the court-yard of the State House. The children play-

ing on the roof of a portico, in the sight of the people. They play, that they are making choice of a President. They place him, as a President should be placed, in a public assembly. Laughter. Table of playthings, &c., was pushed out of the window on the top of the portico.

"22d February. Washington's birth-day. Bad weather. Appearance of some companies in uniform, unhappily quite European. Celebration by the Washington Benevolent Society. The members of the Society signifying the rank of their officers by various colored bands, &c. Under the pulpit a picture of Washington. Women in the gallery; the men below. Washington guards, an imitation of nobility. A young law student was the orator, who celebrated Washington's domestic, military, and political character. Among the greatest of those who had held offices, he mentioned only Hamilton, Jay, Adams, and Knox, but not Jefferson.

"On the 23d, came a letter from my mother, and a picture.

"Sunday, 27th February. Harald, a Catholic priest from Ireland. He had never before spoken against other doctrines; but only exhorted to brotherly love. At Washington, however, a preacher had spoken severely against the Catholics. Now Harald began to speak against the Protestant doctrines. In America they never say 'heretics,' but 'our separated brethren.'"

Dr. Follen has said to me, in speaking of his arri-

val in this country, that, when he was told by the captain that they were within sight of New York, while it was yet so foggy that he could see nothing beyond the ship, he stood straining his eyes with almost a feeling of apprehension, lest the New World, like his other hopes, should vanish before he should actually touch the soil; when suddenly the mist lifted up, and the sun burst forth, and kindled up the glittering spires of the city; and he heard the Sabbath bells calling the inhabitants to church. In another moment, as it were, he found himself standing upon the soil of free America. "I wanted," he said, "to kneel upon the ground, and kiss it, and cling to it with my hands, lest it should even then escape my grasp."

He and his friend, Dr. Beck, proceeded to a French boarding-house. Dr. Follen immediately wrote to Lafayette, the only person he knew in this country. General Lafayette was then in Washington. His reply sufficiently indicates the purpose of Dr. Follen's letter.

"*Washington, 2 Janvier*, 1825.

"Votre lettre du 22 Decembre ne m'a pas trouvé ici, Monsieur; et, quoique arrivé dans la nuit du 31, je n'ai pas pu vous répondre dans la journée d'hier qui a été employée comme vous le verrez sans doute dans les papiers publics. Ce n'est que le matin que j'ai pu faire les consultations dont j'avais besoin avant de vous écrire; elles s'accordent avec ce que m'avait dit le Gouverneur Schulz de l'Etat de la

Pennsylvanie à qui j'avais parlé de Monsieur Beck et de vous dès les premiers moments de mon arrivée à Philadelphie. Permittez moi d'abord de vous exprimer la part que je prends aux persécutions dont vous avez été l'objet et à votre heureux debarquement sur la terre de la liberté.

"Quoique la Haute Pennsylvanie soit peuplée en grande partie d'anciens Allemands, leurs occupations plus agricoles que littéraires, si elles offrent des chances pour des colons, ne seraient pas aussi convenables pour votre compagnon et vous que le séjour de Cambridge près Boston, la portion des Etats Unis où la littérature allemande est le plus en honneur. Vous trouverez à cette université les Professeurs Everett et Ticknor, et quelques autres, le President lui-même, le Docteur Kirkland, tous très disposés à vous êtres utiles. Le concours aux places, et autres avantages littéraires, est une chose qui ne dépende pas de leur bonne volonté ; mais elle vous rendrait agréable le tems nécessaire pour apprendre l'Anglais, condition indispensable aux Etats Unis.

" Si vous préfériez le séjour de Washington ou de ses environs, je serais très empressé d'en profiter, devant y passer le mois de Janvier et peut-être une partie de Fevrier, sans quelques voyages d'où je reviendrai ici pour faire ensuite une journée de trois à quatre mois qui ramenera vers le 10 Juin à Boston. Mais le séjour de Washington est fort cher; on n'y est occupé que de politique Americaine et de soirées amusantes, et je ne vois pas, quant à présent, de l'avantage pour vous à venir y apprendre l'Anglais.

" Le Professeur Ticknor, qui est ici, sera le 25 du mois à Philadelphie où vous pourriez venir causer avec lui. Son avis est, que vous alliez dès à présent à Cambridge ; dans ce cas nous vous enverrions des lettres pour nos amis.

" Mandez moi de suite ici quels sont vos projets. Offrez mes compliments à M. Beck, et agréez l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

" LAFAYETTE." *

* " *Washington, January 2d,* 1825.

" Your letter of the 22d of December did not find me in this place; and, although I arrived on the night of the 30th, I was not able to reply to you during the whole of yesterday, which was employed, as you doubtless will see by the public papers. It was not till this morning, that I have been able to make the consultations which were necessary before writing to you. They correspond with what Governor Schultz, of Pennsylvania, said to me, when I spoke to him of you and of Dr. Beck on my first arrival at Philadelphia. Permit me, first, to express the interest which I take in the persecutions of which you have been the object, and in your happy arrival in this land of liberty.

" Although Upper Pennsylvania is peopled mostly by old Germans, their occupations, more agricultural than literary, if they offer good opportunities for husbandmen, are yet not so favorable for your companion and you as a residence in Cambridge, near Boston, which is the part of the country where German literature is held in the highest honor. You will find, in that university, the Professors Everett and Ticknor and some others, and the President himself, Dr. Kirkland, all much disposed to aid you. Appointments to office, and other literary advantages, are things which do not depend upon their favor; but they will render the time agreeable to you, which is necessary for learning English, an indispensable condition in the United States.

" If you would prefer a residence in Washington or its environs, I shall be eager to profit by it, as I am to pass the month of January, and perhaps February there, except some excursions,

Immediately after the receipt of this letter Dr. Follen went to Philadelphia. From thence he again wrote to Lafayette. I give an extract from his reply.

" *Washington*, 13 *Janvier*, 1825.

" J'ai reçu votre lettre, mon cher Monsieur, et je suis allé voir M. Ticknor qui part après demain, mais ne sera qu'en dix jours à Philadelphie ; je lui ai donné votre addresse.

" Je viens d'écrire à M. Du Ponceau, Français de naissance mais établi aux Etats Unis depuis plus de quarante ans. Il est de toutes les institutions littéraires et savantes de Philadelphie. Personne n'est plus que lui à portée de vous donner de bons conseils et de vous mettre en connaissance avec les personnes qui peuvent contribuer au succès des vues de M. Beck et des votres ; il est mon ami depuis plus

from whence I shall return here, to make afterwards a journey of three or four months, which will bring me, towards the 10th of June, to Boston. But living in Washington is very dear. They are only occupied with American politics, and evening parties of pleasure ; and I do not see at present any advantage in your coming here to learn English.

" Professor Ticknor, who is here, will be in Philadelphia on the 25th of this month, where you can consult him. His advice is, that you should go now to Cambridge. In this case we shall send you letters for our friends.

" Let me know, very soon, what are your plans. Present my compliments to Dr. Beck, and receive the assurance of my high consideration.

" LAFAYETTE."

d'un demi-siècle. Agréez l'un et l'autre mes sentiments de considération et d'attachment.

"LAFAYETTE." *

La Fayette's letter to M. Du Ponceau secured to Dr. Follen the truly kind and efficient aid of this distinguished man. He introduced him to his literary friends, and showed him every possible kindness. As soon as Professor Ticknor arrived in Philadelphia, he called upon Dr. Follen, and offered him every friendly aid, of which, as a stranger, he might stand in need. He had now agreeable lodgings, and began to make some progress in English. Mrs. Andale, though a French lady, had been from early youth an inhabitant of this country; and her daughter was born here. Dr. Beck and Dr. Follen made a part of the family.

An anecdote, in relation to this lady, may not be uninteresting. Under some pecuniary difficulty she

* "*Washington, January 13th*, 1825.

"I have received your letter, my dear Sir, and I have been to see Mr. Ticknor, who leaves here to-morrow, but who will not be in Philadelphia in less than ten days. I have given him your address.

"I have just written to Mr. Du Ponceau, a Frenchman by birth, but who has been established in the United States for more than forty years. He is connected with all the literary and learned institutions of Philadelphia. No person is more fitted than he to give you good advice, and to make you acquainted with all those persons who can contribute to the success of your and Dr. Beck's views. We have been friends for more than half a century. Accept from me, both of you, sentiments of consideration and attachment.

"LAFAYETTE."

had borrowed twenty-two dollars from Dr. Follen's small store of money. When he left her, she was unable to repay him. Some years after, when we were in Philadelphia, he called upon her, for he had a great regard for her. She was rejoiced to see him; but expressed her grief, that she could not, on account of her poverty, pay her debt to him. He had forgotten it, and begged her also, from that time, to think no more of it. Three years after, he received this money, with the interest, from her executor, who said, that such were her feelings towards him on this account, that, when she was on her death-bed, she had given order, that this debt should be paid him, as a proof of her memory of his kindness toward her.

A letter, which Dr. Follen now wrote to his parents, somewhat less than a month after his arrival, will show how much he had observed in this short time.

"*Philadelphia, January 13th*, 1825.

"My beloved Parents and Sisters,

"You will already have received news from Basle, whither I sent my first letters from New York, of our voyage and safe arrival in this native land of freedom. We had, on the whole, a good passage for the season. The storm we encountered on the 19th of November was on the open sea, and in an American ship. There was nothing to be feared. We were received in a very friendly manner by those to whom we had letters. . . . . .

"My friend, Charles Beck, is a philologist and theologian, and seeks a situation as professor or preacher. I, with my jurisprudence and philosophy, can only find a sphere of action, suited to my former life, in some one of the higher seminaries in this country. From Lafayette I received a very friendly answer on the subject. He advised me to go to Philadelphia first, and then to Cambridge, near Boston, the seat of the most celebrated university in the United States, and promised to give me, at this place, letters of introduction there. I have therefore taken his advice. But the necessary condition of success in America is the knowledge of the English language; and to learn this thoroughly will require a full year. Happily, the means which we have raised will allow us to spend the whole year in gaining a knowledge of the country and of the language, and without incurring any debt. If, then, dear father, you can comply with the request which I sent from Basle, then I can establish myself here, and, by my own exertions, which have heretofore been sufficient, can support myself well. But I repeat, again, that the fulfilment of my request must neither cause you any inconvenience, nor must it injure my mother, or brothers and sisters.

"I know the country and the people too little, at present, to be able to determine what occupation I should now take up. One, however, presents itself already, namely, the German language and literature, which there is much inclination to study in many parts of the United States. Be assured, that I am

not forsaken here, but find friends in necessity, as I did in Switzerland. People here are distrustful of those who come without good recommendations; but that is quite natural, since they have already been so often deceived. Even if one comes well recommended, they do not give him full confidence, until he has lived a considerable time with them. The government interferes scarcely at all, but acts merely as a defence against breaches of the law; and there is certainly no country, where one lives more securely without passports, police officers, and soldiers, than here. Almshouses and penitentiaries are more perfect here than elsewhere. In education they make rapid progress. For the rest, they let men alone; and thus every thing is much better done, than when it is accomplished by direction of the authorities. Taxes there are none, or scarcely any; for the government of the whole United States does not cost so much as that of one of our Principalities. Any man can call together, by a public announcement, in the open squares, an assembly of several thousands, in which petitions to the government may be discussed, and its measures criticized; but, as yet, there has been no example of any disorder or disturbance of the public peace in consequence. The government does not concern itself with the exercise of religion, speech, or the press, except so far as the rights of any might thereby be impaired.

"There are a great many Germans here, who constitute a large part of the population of Pennsylvania. In many villages and towns, scarcely any

English is spoken or preached. Our peasantry, who have emigrated here, have generally succeeded very well. They call every one *Du*, and are zealous democrats. They are much prized on account of their industry and rectitude. The agricultural riches of America are in their hands. There is yet but little of a higher progress to be found among them. They interest themselves, however, very warmly in affairs of religion and politics. Politics are here every one's concern. It is literally true, that women, employed in the kitchen, take part in them, and read the public prints, which are published here in great numbers. There are here no state secrets; but the opinion is prevalent, that the welfare of all is the concern of the so-called common man.

"The former king of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte, is regarded here as a very good citizen. He has established himself in the United States, and publicly declares his satisfaction in living here. Recently a large country-seat of his took fire in his absence. The whole neighbourhood assembled to extinguish the flames. He lost nothing of his numerous treasures, which the country people had rescued for him. They brought him, unasked for, every thing that was saved, although he could not have proved, that any thing of his was in their possession.

"In trade, however, the Americans are very sharp; and whoever gives himself the air of knowing any thing is easily overreached. Towards others, who confide entirely in them, they conduct themselves, at least in many instances, very uprightly. Much depends

on the religious sentiment, but nothing on religious opinions. One may declare himself an atheist, a heathen, or a Christian.

" When you write, I should like much, that you would all, parents, sisters, and brothers-in-law, write something. You can imagine, from your own experience, what great delight it gives to one at a distance of more than three thousand miles from his dear home, to receive such a greeting.

" God be praised, that we have here so much to do, and that we find so rich an enjoyment in this glorious liberty, that the painful thoughts of our dear ones, on the other side of the ocean, do not quite overpower us. Write, however, very particularly, how it is with each of you. Sympathy with all those whom one loves does not diminish, but rather increases with distance. Now farewell affectionately, and endeavour to forget your pain at my absence, in the thought that it is well with me, that I feel myself free and happy. I greet, cordially, parents, sisters, and friends.

" Your CHARLES."

Dr. Follen declared his wish, immediately after his arrival in Philadelphia, to be made a citizen of the United States. He devoted himself, with unwearied energy and perseverance to the study of the English language; and his success was uncommon. In less than six months he began to prepare a course of lectures upon the civil law, which he intended to deliver in Philadelphia, and which he afterwards did deliver

in Boston, in rather less than a year from the time of his arrival in America. These lectures are not published in these volumes, as it was not thought the subject would be generally interesting. But the ease and beauty of the style would make it seem almost incredible, that the writer, six months before he commenced them, could not utter a single perfect English sentence.

The first English book he read, was Miss Sedgwick's "Redwood," which he enjoyed highly. He always thought it aided him greatly in tuning his ear to a graceful English style, and to a just comprehension of the idioms of our language. I find among his papers a copy of some passages from the preface to "Redwood," which he particularly liked. This was probably some of the first English he ever wrote, as the hand is very stiff.

Through the kind exertions of Professor Ticknor and Mr. Du Ponceau, Dr. Follen, in the autumn of 1825, was appointed teacher of the German language in Harvard University.* He accepted the appointment, and soon after left Philadelphia for Cambridge.

* See Appendix.

CHAPTER IX.

He enters upon his Duties in Cambridge. — Lectures on the Civil Law in Boston. — Takes Charge of a Gymnasium in Boston. — Extracts from Letters to Dr. Beck. — Reading Parties in Boston. — Letter to his Father.

Before Dr. Follen established himself in Cambridge, he visited his friend, Dr. Beck, at Northampton. He also, on his way to Boston, paid his respects to Miss Sedgwick, whose writings had excited in him a strong desire for a personal acquaintance. She was then at her brother's, Mr. Henry Sedgwick's, in New York; and this visit led to a friendship which both parties ever afterwards counted as among those treasures which shall endure for ever.

He was welcomed with great cordiality in Cambridge, and was received by Dr. Kirkland, the President of the University, with that graceful courtesy which he bestowed upon all, and that considerate kindness and sympathy, which he could not fail to offer to one who had been a sufferer, who was a stranger in a strange land, and who, as such, was in peculiar want of that unasked for tenderness and respect so precious to a homesick heart. Dr. Follen loved to speak of his gratitude to Dr. Kirkland.

A class was soon formed in Boston to hear his course of lectures on the civil law. These gentlemen received him in a very friendly manner. They invited him to their houses, and introduced him to many interesting acquaintances. Professor Ticknor was a very kind friend to him. Under his hospitable roof he passed many happy hours ; and it was there, that he formed some valuable and permanent friendships.

As soon as he was established in Cambridge, he engaged Mr. William Russell to assist him in acquiring a more perfect knowledge of English. He labored, with almost incredible industry, to overcome every difficulty in his way to the attainment of a perfect pronunciation. He would sometimes practise, for an hour at a time, on one particular sound of one of the vowels which he had found peculiarly difficult. His ear was very nice and accurate ; and he was never satisfied till he had acquired the sound perfectly. He was truly grateful to any one who would point out any defect either in his pronunciation or in his mode of expression. It never disturbed his serenity, if he discovered that his mistakes in the language raised a laugh at his expense. When he was teaching in the University, he frequently observed, that he had made some blunder which occasioned an irrepressible merriment among his pupils. In these cases he would say, "You must, young gentlemen, tell me what I have said that is so laughable, that I may have my share of the amusement." And many a hearty laugh did they have together when they explained to him the mistake he had made.

In the spring of 1826, some gentlemen, who were desirous of establishing a gymnastic school in Boston, proposed to Dr. Follen to superintend the erection of the proper apparatus, and become the principal instructor. He was authorized to engage a suitable assistant, and was offered a liberal salary. He accepted the proposal. In September the gymnasium was open for the pupils. This was the means of introducing him to many agreeable acquaintances, with whom he was always afterwards upon a friendly footing. Dr. Follen, also, took the direction of the gymnastic exercises of the students in Harvard College. As soon as he was established in Cambridge, he began to prepare a German Reader, and soon after a Grammar. The number of his pupils was continually increasing; and he continued to give daily some time to the study of the English language and literature, so that his time was sufficiently occupied. I find among his papers, extracts from some of the most distinguished English metaphysical writers and poets, dated this year.

During the summer vacation he had made a visit to Dr. Beck, who accompanied him to Stockbridge to see Miss Sedgwick. These visits to his countryman and friend he often spoke of with great delight. From the time Dr. Beck had left him in Philadelphia, Dr. Follen had constantly written to him of all that passed around him, or that interested him in any way. Some extracts from these letters have been kindly furnished me by Dr. Beck. They lead us back to his residence in Philadelphia.

"*Philadelphia, March*, 1825.

"I made, the other day at the Wistar Club, the acquaintance of a Virginian, who, as Du Ponceau tells me, has written to Jefferson to recommend me as teacher of the Roman law in the institution erected by him. But I consider this a very uncertain matter before I know English perfectly. Besides, I should like a temporary appointment in Virginia, but not a permanent one in a slave State. I am very sorry Lafayette does not come here. But I shall certainly go in June to Pittsburg or Boston to meet him. By that time I hope to know English well, so that any recommendation of his may be of immediate use."

"March 26. Yesterday at last came the first letters from Basle, which I transmit immediately to you."

"April 20. I have enrolled my name with Du Ponceau as a law student.

"What your father, in his letter, says of authorship I find correct, in case it is to be followed as the principal pursuit. But I cannot here omit an observation, which I think I have before stated to you. I am of opinion, that every one, whose education, as to its foundation, is completed, so that he can pass over from receiving to communicating, should, with a faithful regard to his talent, select that system of action in which he can accomplish something distinguished. I confess, that the distant aspect of my plan (of becoming a lawyer, or rather professor of law) disquiets me somewhat. However,

I am learning English ; and this, like 'godliness, is profitable for all things.' "

" May 25. I have passed several weeks, for the most part, in bed ; and this confinement has reduced me somewhat. The difficulty commenced with the toothache, as in New York. Now I am well again.

" I expect Lafayette with great impatience. I see this moment in the papers, that Lafayette will not pass through here on his way to Boston, but arrive there directly on the 16th of June. I shall go thither at any rate ; but I should like to meet you, and see the old hero with you. You also write to me, that he will probably come to Northampton. Write immediately what you consider the best arrangement."

" June 25. You have in vain expected me. I will not conceal from you the reasons of my not going to Boston and Northampton. The troublesome money was the real reason. The journey would have cost me over thirty dollars. I am sorry that this wisdom did not come to me until I had advanced as far as New York. Du Ponceau has now spoken with some lawyers. They are willing to attend my lectures on law next winter. I could, he thinks, earn by them at least one hundred dollars. I said that they must not expect classical English. What do you say, dear brother, to this long absence of all letters from sweet home ? I hunger and long for this heart's manna. I anticipate much pleasure from my lectures, being at the same time my means of support."

"July 25. After a fatiguing ride from Northampton to Albany, and after a beautiful sail from thence to New York, and after a poor night at Trenton, I arrived in health, but very tired, in Philadelphia. Now immediately to the main point. I have received a letter from Sartorius. I am convinced of the correctness of his statements. I believe that Mexico is safe, especially since the acknowledgment of the independence of St. Domingo by France, which is a plain hint to Spain. But I go not, unless my prospects here should be entirely overcast, which will be determined next winter by my lectures. The United States offer to me a sphere of usefulness which I cannot find in Mexico, in its present rude state. This is the view of duty, which is not overbalanced by the charm of a free life of friendship. You have already gained a footing. We remain here unless the prospect of an early independence should vanish. When I arrived, on Sunday last, I found that Lafayette was going the following morning. I could not see him that day, as he had made an excursion into the country. I went, therefore, on Monday morning, at 5 o'clock, to the steamboat. He welcomed me in a very friendly manner, inquired after you, and of my prospects. I went with him as far as Chester. He invited me, urgently, to go in August to Washington, when he would make me acquainted with many distinguished men, and give me letters to Jefferson and Monroe, which might be of service to me. Although I feel the importance of improving the last moments of Lafayette's presence,

the money for the journey is a point about which I am not certain. Write to me what you think about Mexico. I am now studying 'Blackstone's Commentaries,' which are excellently written. Du Ponceau will soon publish my statement of my affairs in Basle in one of the papers. I had, the other day, in the Philosophical Society's room, a long and friendly conversation with the Prussian minister. Neither knew the other until Du Ponceau directed my attention to my companion."

"August 25. I do not go to Washington, chiefly because the journey would cost me more than forty dollars, which I cannot spare. Du Ponceau, besides, dissuades me, on account of the loss of time. I study now very zealously. I live in the country, five miles from Philadelphia, near the falls of the Schuylkill, in a beautiful spot. I pay only two dollars and a half a week. How is it as to your plan of coming here in the autumn?"

"September 15. I employ all my powers to procure for myself, here in the United States, a sphere of usefulness. Yet I cannot conceal from myself the precarious nature of my position, having to wait nearly five years to become an advocate. All, therefore, depends upon the success of my lectures. I deliver the introductory on the first of October. Terms, ten dollars a ticket. I shall give thirty lectures. I have reason to expect a numerous audience. I should prefer being a teacher of law, with a fixed salary, to the practice of the law. The more I see of the state of things, the more I perceive, that the

great incomes depend, not only upon great ability and knowledge, but also on many half-honest tricks. I remain in the country till October."

"November 25. Du Ponceau only on October 30th communicated to me a letter from Professor Ticknor, (he had received it some time ago, but had forgotten it,) who says, that the University at Cambridge contemplates an enlargement of its departments, and intends to appoint a teacher of the German language with five hundred dollars' salary, and asks Du Ponceau, whether I would be willing to accept the place. I have been obliged to postpone my lectures several weeks, because three courts are now sitting, and the lawyers have too much to do. On this account I have not been able to commence, although I showed my introductory lecture to Du Ponceau a fortnight ago, who praises it on every occasion, and presses me to print it. Professor Ticknor writes, that if I wished to deliver lectures in Boston on the Roman law, I should have many hearers. I could do this very well, as I should have half the week to myself. You see, my dear friend, that these offers must be more agreeable to me, who seek, above all things, independence and a certain support, than those from Northampton, [referring to an invitation to give lectures at the law school in Northampton, under the care of Judge Howe and Mr. Mills,] whither I should prefer going on your account. I have consulted with Mr. Du Ponceau, who at first was undecided, because he is, as I think, unwilling to lose me, but finally considered Cambridge more advantageous.

He wrote, at my request, to Mr. Ticknor, that I would accept the offer as soon as the affair was certain, but that I wished to complete my course of lectures here in Philadelphia. Du Ponceau has, at the same time, written in praise of my knowledge of the law, and of my introductory lecture, and urged Professor Ticknor to procure for me at Cambridge a professorship of civil law, as is customary in English universities. Thank Judge Howe and the other gentlemen for their confidence and friendly offer, but say, that I am not yet prepared to decide upon one of the several prospects opened to me. You see, from Jung's letter, how unfortunately things went concerning the money sent by my father. Trusting that De Rham would receive the money in a short time, I had drawn upon him for thirty dollars more than, according to our settlement, stood to my credit. Write therefore to De Rham to give me more credit. I will write to Basle, that Jung shall send what rich friends may contribute for me, on condition that Jung and your father do nothing.

"November 28. Tuesday next I hope to be with you. I have accepted the offer from Boston, so, however, that I can leave after signifying my intention. You will see that I was right in accepting."

"*Cambridge, December 22d*, 1825.

"I am now somewhat settled here. I lodge with Professor Stearns, and take my meals at Dr. Ware's. Professor Ticknor has been constantly very friendly towards me; also the President and the other offi-

cers. Having come a short time before the vacation, which lasts a fortnight, I have not yet given any instruction. I have this time to prepare myself for law and language. I shall probably have an audience of twenty-five or thirty lawyers in Boston. In the spring and summer I shall hold the same lectures here at the law school. I have already worked a good deal; but, before this, I missed my books and papers. Yesterday they arrived. I have found several good books here in the College library. But, on the whole, my department is poorly provided. Something, however, is to be procured at my suggestion. Thank Mr. Bancroft again for his letters. He enjoys here the high esteem of all. Mr. Folsom, the librarian, is a very interesting man. He has seen the whole coast of the Mediterranean. He was in Naples at the time of the Revolution; is well acquainted with the Italian and Modern Greek literature. I shall go, on Monday next or earlier, to Boston. On the whole, I think I shall live here very pleasantly. A great advantage is, that we have an excellent reading-room, with a considerable number of American and English papers and journals; — five dollars a year. Professor Ticknor wished that I should immediately furnish my lodgings, the hiring furniture being more expensive. I could not accept his advice, for reasons which you know, although he very kindly offered as much money as I wanted. Were my salary raised one half, so that I could live with a wife, I should like to remain here, the social life is so agreeable, and then not far from you. I

have hope that the people will wish to keep me, especially when they see that I take an interest in my business, and am of use to the institution. There are two things on which I should like to have your opinion. I want a German Reader. Professor Ticknor is of the same opinion as I, that we two should make a German Chrestomathy, which might, at the same time, serve as a sketch of the history of German literature. Professor Ticknor possesses, as you know, a very rich library. If we add to this what may be obtained in other places, we might furnish something useful. Ask Mr. Bancroft for his opinion. The book must be such, that it may be introduced into other institutions, and thus at least pay its expenses. The second point is a German Grammar in English. The Grammar of Rowbotham seems to me more useful than that of Noehden; but even that is capable of great improvement. I know we have, before this, spoken of this subject; and you thought to prepare a Grammar. I know not whether you have done any thing about it. At any rate, do note every thing that occurs to you. I will do the same, and communicate my observations to you. Yesterday there was a party at Professor Norton's, very splendid and elegant. I made the acquaintance of many people of this place and Boston. I cannot yet accurately calculate how much I expend a month. I am obliged to live somewhat genteelly, and, consequently, more expensively; but I see, even now, many things which I can arrange more economically. I should think, in general, it is more expensive to live singly than with a wife."

"February 20th, 1826. Here at last, dear friend, is a letter from our Basle friends. I am very busy. The first two sheets of my Reader, with a Preface, are already printed; and my pupils, thirty in number, translate valiantly. I have taken the extracts, with the aid of Professor Ticknor and his library, from the principal authors since Lessing. I wish I had some fables of Pestalozzi's. There is no extract from Novalis, because I have nothing of him."

"March 5. I answer your letter for the sole purpose of requesting you, by your early visit, to put an end to the necessity of corresponding. I expect our University will particularly apply to you on the subject of gymnastics. I have commenced gymnastic exercises with the students. The College furnishes the implements, and will give us a place. At present I use one of the dining-halls. All show much zeal. In Boston a gymnasium is soon to be established. The matter will lead further, probably, than most at present anticipate. I thank you for sending me Novalis. I shall take the fairy tale of the Rose-leaf. Do not forget to bring what drawings you have, relating to gymnastics."

"May 7. Now something of importance. J—— has arrived in New York, where he found letters from Sartorius, &c. J——, being disappointed, has written to me, and appealed to my hospitality, until he shall be able to support himself. I answered, of course, immediately, and begged him earnestly to come and live with me, having enough for both of

us. I have told him to go by the way of Northampton and see you."

"June 23. I have finished my course of lectures in Boston, and commenced the preparation of a German Grammar. I wish you to send me all the memoranda which you have, and inquire also of Bode.

"June 29. I shall come to you in the beginning of the vacation with J——."

"September 26. We have celebrated some beautiful days. The dedication of Divinity Hall procured us a glorious sermon from Dr. Channing. We had some good orations, at the Commencement, from Putnam, Walker, and Palfrey, and, besides that, beautiful faces in the galleries. The following day was the Phi Beta Kappa day,—an oration from Judge Story, (finished, encyclopædian,) and a very witty poem from Mr. Peabody, of Springfield. I had been chosen a member of the Society in the forenoon, on which account I was allowed to appear at dinner. It was one of the finest and most entertaining I ever was present at. Professor Everett presided. There was no end to the cannonading of wit. The toasts were really, almost without exception, very good. Thanking the society for my reception, I ventured into the fields of wit. 'That mysterious trinity of Greek letters, which unites the members of our society, and makes us at the same time Trinitarians and Unitarians,' was my toast. The general applause calmed or rather drowned my evil conscience concerning the wit of this witticism. I long for your October visit in the solitude of my heart."

"September 26. The day after to-morrow my rope-dancing begins in Boston. The gallows stand, in significant majesty, on the spot. There is no lack of gallows-birds, large and small, genteel and vulgar. I inclose some letters from Jung."

"*Boston, December*, 1826.

"So far wit and wisdom. Now comes common stupidity. I cannot come to you during this vacation. I must finish my Grammar in order to retain my reputation and place. This is painful to one, who, in his own unhappiness, can find consolation only in the happiness of his friends."

It was in the autumn of this year, 1826, that I first saw Dr. Follen. He was introduced to me by our mutual friend, Catherine Sedgwick, who was in Boston on a visit. He accompanied us and some other ladies to his gymnasium, to see his class of boys go through their exercises. He took us, when we first entered the place, to look at a very amusing caricature of his school, particularly of his elder pupils and himself, in the act of performing some of their most difficult exercises. "I have," he said, "put this up in my gymnasium, that we, who are laughed at, may have our fair portion of the sport." All of us noticed the simple, good-humored dignity of his manner, and his unaffected enjoyment of a jest at his own expense. The childlike earnestness, the sublime simplicity, of his character made an indelible impression upon me, as I saw him then for the first

time. He did not seem a stranger to me. I believe he never seemed like a stranger to a human soul.

A small number of ladies, of whom I was one, had just formed a little party to meet once a week for the purpose of improvement in the art of reading well. We invited Dr. Follen to join us. He gladly accepted the invitation. At the first meeting, when called upon to read in his turn, he objected, on the ground that he could not read any thing in English well, without previously studying it. I asked him to recite a German poem. No one present will ever forget his recitation of Göthe's "Kennst du das Land," especially the tender accents of his voice when repeating the words,

"Dahin! dahin!
Möcht' ich mit dir, O mein Geliebter, ziehn."

It was indeed the cry of the homesick spirit after its father-land.

The following letter, which he wrote to his parents at this time, proves, however, that he began to feel himself at home in his adopted country.

"*Cambridge, December* 19, 1826.

"My dear Parents and Sisters,

"A fortnight's vacation gives me the long-desired time to write to you. I am well, and my position here becomes every day more firm and agreeable, in proportion as my new countrymen are assured, that I am not one of the many adventurers and impostors, through whom the name of a foreigner has become suspected to the natives. They are convinced, that

my new country has always been the country of my principles; that I know how to respect the peculiarities of others, and that I attach myself cordially to good men, and particularly to affectionate family circles. It is now seven years since I left my home, and I have not, during this, my private seven years' war against the great powers, entered my father's house, to which I am bound by the most sacred ties of love and gratitude. I know that I have, through my absence, deeply afflicted my dear friends, and especially you, my dear father. But you know, that the principles, on account of which I, together with others, have been persecuted, and which, with many of my fellow-sufferers, may have been opinions taken upon trust, or mere freaks of an ill-regulated imagination, — that these principles have been with me matters of conscience, and the results of laborious thought and study. Hence, there is in this country, where law alone governs, no more quiet citizen than I. I should have lost my self-respect, and deserved the contempt of my adversaries, had I acted according to their principles. Hence, in the storms of misfortune, as well as in those of the ocean, the infallible magnet in my breast has never wavered, but remained fixed as the polar star to which it points. And I am convinced, that even you, dear father, will forget the pain of separation, as soon as you know that it is well with your children, though they are far from you; and especially when you see that we have preserved your image true and pure; preserved in us, bright and true, the image of rectitude, which you placed before us from childhood, your own image."

Here follows an account of his gymnasia in Cambridge and Boston, which need not be repeated; and he goes on. "The mass of the people are here far better instructed than in any part of Europe with which I am acquainted. Our German emigrants, who settle in Pennsylvania, with the Irish, who commonly find employment on the high roads and canals, and as servants, are most uncivilized, but are, nevertheless, highly esteemed; the first, as industrious cultivators of the soil; the last, as day-laborers and servants. Many of them, that is, of the Germans (for the Irish soon get rid of their earnings), rise by their industry to the station of respectable citizens, and most of them are prosperous, and frugal, though hospitable. But they have not the smallest inclination to give their children a better education, and are even strengthened in this by their clergy, generally ignorant fanatics (with many honorable exceptions), who are inclined to put down every attempt to open their minds, lest thus heresy should be introduced. This is the state of things in the German villages. The German mechanics and traders, who come here, succeed tolerably well, for the most part, but they spoil every thing with the inhabitants, because they foolishly criticize every thing in this country, and pretend, that they have been great gentlemen at home. This is still more disgusting in the French, who find fault with every thing merely because it is not French; so that I often have occasion to wonder at the good-nature of the people, who do not fail, notwithstanding their rudeness, to ac-

knowledge and respect the good qualities of those who blame and ridicule them, at the same time that they find among them liberty and support.

" In learned men and literary institutions, they are far behind the Germans, though the progress of the people since their independence (a period of fifty years) is inconceivably great.

" The same remark applies to the arts in general; though painting here in Boston has produced works of great value; and in the belles-lettres some excellent things have appeared. One art, however, is here in greater perfection than elsewhere, that of eloquence. I know, indeed, no higher intellectual enjoyment, than to listen to a political discourse of Webster or Everett, or a sermon from Channing. This last, the most distinguished preacher in the United States, stands at the head of the Unitarians, that is, of that religious sect, who regard Christ as a divinely inspired, perfect man, and who reject the Trinity. To this doctrine belong the best informed men of this State; and it was very delightful to Dr. Channing to learn through me, that a great number of German Lutherans thought with him. I have had much conversation with him, especially on philosophical subjects, and we agree about them in all essential particulars. He is, besides, my very warm friend, and the firmest spiritual stay and staff which I have here.

" Religion and the church are far more important in New England than in Europe, although the State has absolutely nothing to do with them, and a society of atheists or idolaters could exist here with as much

security as any Christian sect. Each sect maintains its churches and its ministers, if it has them, (the Quakers, for example, have none,) and regulates its affairs without the State's having the smallest influence, or the religious faith of the individual affecting at all his position in regard to civil rights. Nevertheless, there is scarcely one now among a thousand to be found, who does not go to church twice on the Sunday, and who, even if in other respects a miser, does not contribute richly to the maintenance of the clergy, and to ecclesiastical institutions. Even those, who are not religious in heart, feel, that, in a social organization like this, the bonds of order, which are formed in other States by outward force, must consist in the hearts and the motives of men. The tone of society, is, in this view, extremely strict. Oaths and curses, whether good or evil spirits are invoked, exclude one from good society; so does the most remote double entendre in the presence of women. Respect for females is a fixed article of faith. I have never yet heard the slightest expression, which did not manifest great regard to them. A number of men rise as soon as a lady enters, and each one offers his seat, whether in private society, or the theatre, or in church. Women and clergymen are most honored. The greatest influence, however, on the whole, is exercised by lawyers and by rich merchants.

"I have been carried away so far by my love of description, that I have not yet thanked you, dear parents and sisters, for your affectionate letters, which I received this summer. The whole dear Giessen

home, now transferred to Friedberg, stands before my soul. It does my heart good to have a sign of life from each of the family circle, father, mother, sisters, and relatives *in re et spe*. But from —— I have seen nothing for years. If he is withheld by my former political relations, I would remark, that, since I became a citizen here, I have publicly renounced, under oath, all further connexion with foreign governments. Therefore I am, as to Europe, politically dead, and continue to live only for my family. The hatred against the governments on the other side, which I brought on board ship, has changed into entire indifference; and I only wish that my persecutors would allow me the blessing of their forgetfulness."

[There follow here pleasant reminiscences of his youth and of Giessen; then, a request for his certificate of baptism, and for an impression of the family seal.]

"What you say, dear father, of our reunion, one day, in that world, is as if written from my heart, and has more certainty to me, than all which our five animal senses represent to us as true. But what you write about the not meeting in this world, I cannot agree to, and shall take it upon myself, at the right time, to present you with a proof to the contrary.

"God preserve to you, dear father, the two good eyes with which you write me such affectionate letters, and put to shame even my caligraphy. I greet you all from my whole heart, father, mother, sisters, and friends. Your faithful CHARLES."

Very soon after our acquaintance commenced, Dr. Follen informed me of his engagement in Germany, and told me of his hope, that, as soon as he had some adequate means of support for a wife, the lady would follow him to this country.

The reading parties, which he had joined, were not only a great enjoyment to him, on account of their truly social character and of the agreeable people whom he met at them, but he thought them very useful to him as a means of acquiring a more accurate knowledge of the language, and a nicer pronunciation. He made some attempts, this winter, at writing English verse. One specimen only of these efforts remains in existence. He brought it to me, and asked me to correct it; but I preferred leaving it as it was, even had I been able to improve it.

The idea was excited in his mind, he said, by the recollection of a visit he made one morning, very early, to a little chapel in Switzerland. He saw there some one who was deeply moved by devotional feeling, and in whose tearful eyes, as they were raised to heaven, the light of the early morning was reflected. When he came out of the chapel, he was struck with the glowing light of the rising sun upon the dewdrops on the flowers. The beautiful images, that had been awakened in his mind within and outside of the chapel, still lived in his memory, and he endeavoured to embody them in verse. I feel assured, that these lines will be read with interest.

"Sweet in the floweret's cup,
Sparkles the sky-born drop;

Smiling in tears of bliss,
Nature imbibes heaven's morning kiss.
Thus, when emotion
Lights the pure eye,
Tears of devotion
Speak God is nigh;
Heaven on earth impressing,
Shines in the eye God's blessing."

CHAPTER X.

Teachers' Meetings at Dr. Channing's. — Dr. Follen resolves to enter the Ministry. — He studies Divinity with Dr. Channing. — Correspondence with Dr. Channing. — He resigns the Care of the Gymnasium in Boston. — Extracts from his Journal.

During this winter (the latter part of the year 1826, and the early part of 1827,) the teachers of the Sunday School in the Rev. Dr. Channing's church were in the habit of meeting in his study, once a fortnight, to discuss with him and each other the subject of religious education. Each one was desired by him to invite any friend to join them, who was interested in the subject, and would take a part in the discussion. I was one of the teachers, and invited Dr. Follen to make one of our happy and truly privileged company. This was his first introduction to Dr. Channing, and was the commencement of a friendship which has had no change, and can have no end.

Dr. Follen was, as may be supposed, a great acquisition to our meetings. His free and independent thought, and his frank and fearless expression of his opinions, encouraged others to think and to speak freely; while his unaffected respect for the views of others, and the place of a learner, which his

modesty always led him to take for himself, made him the model for all. When he spoke of spiritual realities, of his faith in a future life, every one felt that he spoke of what he believed, and that immortality had already commenced in him.

One evening, after we had been at one of these never to be forgotten conversations, I said to him, "Why do you not become a preacher?" "O, I am not sufficiently fitted for such a great work," he replied, "though it would be my highest ambition." "Why not begin now, and prepare yourself for the ministry? I think it is your true mission." "I have thought so myself," he replied, "and my early studies in Germany were a preparation. But do you think, that I, a foreigner, could ever venture to preach in English?" I told him, that I thought his English was better than ours, and urged him to promise, that he would devote himself to the ministry. "I cannot promise," he said, "though it is what I should most desire; but I will think seriously of it, and tell you as soon as I have made up my mind."

When I met him, a week afterwards, I said, "Is it yes or no?" "Yes," he replied, with a solemn and holy, yet joyful earnestness, that seemed like a true consecration of himself to the work. He immediately made known his determination to Dr. Channing, and begged him to allow him to commence his preparatory studies with him. His thorough education in his own country, and his theological studies in Giessen, made the labor of fitting himself for the

ministry here, comparatively easy. Dr. Channing aided him greatly by his sympathy and friendly counsel. The blessing, that his friendship was to him, will be best shown by the following letters, which passed between them in the summer of 1827.

"*New York, May* 24, 1827.

"My dear Sir,

"I presume you have heard of the death of your compatriot and friend Dr. Bardili. The circumstances of it were very affecting. Last Friday morning he called to see me, and spent an hour with me. He seemed to be well, as I understand, through the day, and had made an engagement to meet a friend of mine at eight o'clock in the evening. But at nine some person, entering his room, found him dead. He died, probably, of apoplexy. In the morning he talked freely, though he did not seem very cheerful. He told me, that he intended to return to his own country in about three months, and should probably become a minister. We will hope, that he has gone to offer worship in a higher temple. Sudden death is always solemn. In the present case, it may be considered as a kinder mode of removal than a lingering sickness would have been. He was a stranger, and would have wanted the comforts of a home, and those offices of domestic love, which, in a sick and dying room, are worth more than the homage of the world. This event may be used by us to confirm in us that spirit of self-sacrifice, of which we have so often spoken. When we see what a vapor life is,

how suddenly dissolved, we should dismiss our anxiety about prolonging it, and count that man the most privileged, who, instead of wasting it in efforts to escape its end, offers it up freely in the cause of God and man, of freedom and religion. I owe to you some interesting views on this subject, and hope to renew our conversation on my return.

" I shall leave this city soon, and shall probably go to Rhode Island, after a short excursion in the western parts of this State. When I am settled, I shall be glad to hear from you.

" Very truly your friend,

" Wm. E. Channing."

" *Cambridge, July* 1, 1827.

" Dear Sir,

" Your return to Newport affords me the long-desired opportunity of writing to you. I rejoice, with all your friends in this vicinity, in knowing you are near us again ; and I hope, that your journey may have been as beneficial to your health and spirits, as it certainly has been to the spiritual health of those, who, on your way, received from you the blessings of Christian light and love.

" I heartily thank you, dear Sir, for your kind letter from New York. I was glad, that the sorrowful tidings it confirmed were thus conveyed to me from a quarter to which I am indebted, and am constantly looking up, for that spiritual sunshine, which breaks through every cloud arising from earthly sorrow, and turns all gloom into brightness.

"The circumstance you mention in your letter, that my deceased friend had the intention of returning, in a short time, to his own country, there to become a minister of Christ, was new to me. His desire is now fulfilled, and in a more perfect way than he himself could have accomplished it. For the Father of all, whose eye is upon his children everywhere, and preserves them their birthright in heaven while they are naturalized on earth, has called back the homesick spirit to his own country, where he, as I trust with you, is now offering worship in a higher temple.

"It is gratifying to my feelings that my friend, before his death, has seen you, and beheld in your eyes the reflection of that look of love which was soon to welcome him in heaven. There, in a wider sphere of exertion and enjoyment, I hope to meet him again, with many of those most privileged of men, who, 'instead of wasting their life in efforts to escape its end, have offered it up freely in the cause of God and man, of freedom and religion.' I hope to meet him there, if my exertions do not fall short of my ardent desire to keep, as Milton says, in tune with heaven. And in this respect I owe to you, my most excellent friend, much more than I am capable of expressing. At the time when I became acquainted with you, the shares I once held in the bright land of hope and lofty enterprise had sunk in my own estimation. The bitter recollection of former disappointment, together with the insignificance of my late occupations, checked the best impulses, and operated on my depressed spirits like an evil prophecy on a

superstitious mind. But you, you have straightened the slack cords of my heart, and tuned it again for the inspiration of heaven.

"There are several theological subjects concerning which I desire your opinion and advice. But my mind is now unfortunately so much distracted with different occupations, that all my attempts at writing down a series of thoughts prove unsuccessful. Yet, while the minor faculties of the mind are engaged in transitory pursuits, the deepest and fondest exertions of my soul are directed to that universal Mind, which is revealed in the creation and in the highest results of inspired wisdom. The more my mind presses on towards that all-seeing Light, so much the more its warmth expands and attracts my heart, as if to assure me, that wisdom and love, as well as light and warmth, flow from the same eternal Source.

"Our next college vacation begins about the middle of this month, and continues to the end of August. I wish to employ this time principally in the study of the New Testament, and in writing down, in a series of lectures, my ideas on religion, moral and rational law. For this purpose, I need and request your kind assistance; and if you are not averse to having near you a greedy pupil, who threatens to encroach on your spare hours, I should take lodgings near yours, at Newport, about the beginning of next month.

"Your friend,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

"*Portsmouth*, (*R. I.*) *July* 17, 1827.

"My dear Sir,

"I thank you for your kind letter. It was, of course, gratifying to me. To know that I have contributed at all to the peace or progress of such a mind as yours, is a great happiness. I wish you to feel, that you have paid your debt. My interviews with you have been highly interesting; and I owe to them views and impressions, which have quickened and enriched my mind.

"I shall be glad to see you and have you for a neighbour. You must prepare yourself for a very quiet way of living. The country here is undisturbed by the movements which give what is called animation to the neighbourhood of a large city. I have obtained lodgings for you at a comfortable inn a few steps from me. I am quite at leisure, and shall be truly gratified to see you. We have pleasant walks and drives, and we shall be able to exercise as well as sit together.

"Very truly your friend,

"W. E. Channing."

After having first paid a short visit to his friend Dr. Beck, Dr. Follen went to Newport, and passed the remainder of his vacation at the lodgings engaged for him by Dr. Channing, and in the enjoyment of his society. He studied faithfully. The lectures he did not complete; but he made copious notes upon the New Testament for this purpose, and upon the different works which he was reading. He

has often spoken to me of the high enjoyment he derived from the free, intimate communion he had this summer with his friend Dr. Channing. The highest and holiest subjects were the themes of their conversation. They often took very different views. But as truth, not victory, was ever their object, their differences of opinion served only to shed more light upon the mind of each, and to add another charm to their affectionate and happy intercourse.

I find among his papers the copy of a note which he wrote, this summer, to accompany a copy of "Hope Leslie," which he sent to a friend. It seems to me worthy of a place here.

"To Mrs. ———,

"Allow me, dear Madam, to introduce an orphan girl, in a plain pilgrim's dress, to the family of your favorite books. The child, who wishes to be adopted by you, is called 'Hope Leslie.' This name was given to her when she was baptized with the water of the English establishment. But the most interesting traits in her character seem to spring from a baptism of the great Spirit. Accordingly, those friends of the child, who are less inclined to refer to the water, than to the spirit which moves upon it, might prefer to have her called Magawisca."

Previously to his visit to Newport, Dr. Follen had resigned his superintendence of the Boston Gymnasium. The committee expressed their sense of the value of his services, and their regret at losing them,

in a very kind letter, to which he sent the following reply.

" To ———

" *Cambridge, July* 3, 1827.

" Dear Sir,

" The letter, in which the Committee of the Pupils of the Boston Gymnasium have expressed the kind feelings of these gentlemen toward me, has filled me with uncommon pleasure. The impressions I retain of this institution, after having resigned the charge of it to abler hands, are among the most pleasant recollections of my life. I shall always rejoice in remembering the truly patriotic views, to which the Boston Gymnasium owes its existence, and the efficient zeal with which these exercises have been carried on, and which even the severest temperature of last winter could never depress to zero. That healthy atmosphere of the mind, a cheerful mood and kind feelings, which reigned in the Gymnasium, added the charms of good society to the advantages which each individual derived from the exercises. Moreover, the pleasure of seeing similar and partly filial institutions springing up in other cities, seemed to justify the hope, that gymnastic exercises would be generally adopted as a regular branch of education, and as a source of health, strength, and gracefulness, particularly to those persons, whose condition of life is such as to induce them to neglect the cultivation of their physical powers.

" Besides these general grounds of satisfaction,

which I have in common with all the gentlemen belonging to the Gymnasium, I have many particular reasons for cherishing the recollection of the services I rendered to this institution. The Gymnasium has afforded me an opportunity of forming many acquaintances, which I trust will continue independent of it. As an instructor, I succeeded in obtaining (perhaps too soon), that which I consider the most desirable result of all teaching, a number of pupils far surpassing their master; and at the end of my services I see them acknowledged in a manner, for which I find an adequate cause, not so much in my own actions, as in the kindness of those who are willing to take my good intention for the intended action.

"I sincerely wish and hope, that the Gymnasium may continue a benefit to this enlightened city, and that its branches may spread over all this free and happy land, which my principles lead me to consider as my country, while the kindness of its inhabitants makes me embrace it as my home.

"Be so kind, dear Sir, as to present to the committee, and to the gentlemen of the Gymnasium, whose teacher I have had the honor to be, my sincere thanks for the expression of their kind feelings towards me, and accept the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir,

"Your servant and friend,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

All his leisure hours Dr. Follen devoted most

assiduously to the study of his profession, which was, in fact, a renewal of his early studies in Germany. The Bible in English seemed, he said, almost like a new book to him. It was divested of all the disagreeable associations and belittling recollections, which still clung around it in his own language, in consequence of his being forced sometimes, by his grandparents, to read it to them as a task. But in English it was to him like a new revelation. He was often so much affected by some passages in it, that he found it difficult to speak. It was a common remark of those who heard him read it in the pulpit, that they had never understood and felt the full power and beauty of the Bible till they heard him read it.

In the November of this year (1827), Dr. Follen commenced a diary in English, in which he noted down every thing that passed which interested him. His circle of acquaintance was then large. The meetings at Dr. Channing's, and the reading parties, were continued this winter; and the journal contains faithful records of many of the conversations in which he took part, as well as his opinions of many individuals. Much is too personal to be printed. I give some extracts from it, which I have thought not liable to this objection.

"*Cambridge*, 1827.

"November 5. At tea I had a conversation with Dr. Ware on this peculiar quality in human nature, that a man sees with much less displeasure opinions and tendencies which are directly opposed to his

own, than those which deviate too little from his views to be considered adverse, and yet vary so much as to oblige one to view them as foreign. I quoted the phenomenon, that heretics, in the early Christian history, had been persecuted by church and state with much more acrimony and violence, than the Jews and heathens. He mentioned the missionaries in Calcutta evincing much more dissatisfaction and opposition towards the Unitarians, than towards the Hindoos. Feuds in families; brothers not speaking to each other; civil wars. Dr. Ware thought the reason of this, in a great measure, lay in the persuasion, that men are inclined to ascribe wilfulness to those who dissent but little, as they must know better, having so many other contiguous views in common with us; while we are more apt to make allowance for those who are entirely opposed to us, as they want all those preparatory views which would lead them to conformity with ours.

"Gräter remarked, that the passionate mood of mind, under these circumstances, is owing to the interest we take in persons with whom we agree, or are connected, in many respects. This passion could not be excited in us by a dissension with persons who are indifferent to us, and separated in all other respects.

"I believe that disappointment, too, has a share in our feelings. We are disappointed in our confidence, our expectation, that persons, who have so much in common with us, will not differ from us in any respect. Then we hate all that is not whole, not consistent; and we are naturally inclined to con-

sider every such discrepancy as an inconsistency and imperfection; frequently mixed with the suspicion of undue regard to circumstances, and of cowardice. In opposing a common adversary, an ally, who does not wholly embrace our cause, is often more to be feared than the adversary himself.

"6th. Dined at Mr. Coolidge's. Showed me a writing-desk, very ingeniously contrived for travelling, by the grandfather of his wife, Thomas Jefferson, who has fixed a little note to it, testifying that this is the desk upon which the Declaration of Independence was written. He also showed me a chair in his library, contrived by Jefferson, so that it serves at the same time as a little stair-case for taking down books, and as a chair with a table to place either a large or small book upon. We conversed about the morality of concealing circumstances which may influence a bargain, and the difficulty of drawing a line between lawful and unlawful concealment.

"I rode back to Cambridge, and after tea went in again to Dr. Channing's. We spoke about the phrase, 'in the name of Christ,' and similar expressions. He agreed with me that they are ambiguous; they may signify either, upon the authority of Christ, in his spirit, in such a manner as Christ was heard, (taking him as an encouraging example,) or because we think that, in addressing our prayers in his name, he will be our advocate, and ask the Father to hear us; or, in the rude sense, that the mere expression of the name will produce an influence.

"We spoke of the old doctrine of Christ's asking

favors for his followers, of the Father; I insisted upon the distinction between the agency of created beings, and the direct agency of God. It is very important for our destination, that in some measure it depends on other beings; their good or bad influence is a necessary means of developing our own powers, and forming our characters. The direct Divine agency is supplementary, that, whenever an individual does not find in the circumstances of his present life the means of his improvement, he is sure of having them supplied to him by Divine Providence. This direct, or supplementary agency of God, cannot depend on any being's praying or not praying for us, which would suppose injustice toward those who have no such interceding friends; a kind of spiritual despotism.

"We then spoke of the new system of punishment in Pennsylvania, and of other States giving up their old system. The object of the punishment shall be to make the evil-doer an example for others; while the old method, which was so much praised in Europe, had the correction of the prisoner for its object. Pamphlet of Mr. Roscoe on Penitentiary Discipline. Revenge, self-defence, punishment. Commutation of punishment and pardoning; or rather mending the law in a particular case where it is unjust, and to the *disadvantage* of the accused, or the convict. The barbarous notion of exemplary punishment, making one individual the instrument of others, and presenting no way of adjusting the evil to the guilt, given up by moral philosophers for humanity, but still retained by theologians for God. Pardoning,

introduced on account of the imperfection of human laws, is attributed to God with respect to divine laws. Only the declaration and prompt execution of the laws in general operates as it ought upon the community; while they sympathize with the individual, if he is made the instrument of deterring others. This system, in its perfection, requires death and torments.

"We say the happiness of the greatest number is the end of social institutions. But we ought to say, the happiness of each individual, if possible, and, if not, the happiness of as many as possible; every individual must be considered the object of God's care.

"8th. Conversation with Gräter, about moral liberty and dependence. He thinks we are free, in a practical point of view, when we regard nothing but the commandments of our conscience, — our duty. But we are not free in a contemplative point of view, considering ourselves as parts of the universe.

"I did not succeed in convincing him, that this practical point of view is but one part of our knowledge in general, and our relation to God another part; and that these two parts could not contradict each other, taking them simply or in relation to the whole. This would destroy the unity of our consciousness, as it implies the absurdity of considering as true two ideas, one of which contradicts the other, — Kant's antinomy. Fries (and De Wette) making a similar distinction between knowledge through conceptions and ideas, about which opinion I had so many warm contests with Fries.

"10th. Visit to Miss R——. She said that she did not believe in what is called particular Providence, and that Dr. —— agreed that many events, which we usually ascribe to Providence, do not happen according to particular appointment, but to general laws of nature. But, with respect to the death of men, she thought differently, namely, that it happened according to particular appointment. She thought that the manifestation of God's will, through the monitor within, is the only particular Providence, and that, if all men were ready to obey this voice within, it would point them out beforehand all sorts of evil to be avoided, particularly with respect to causes of death, which she thought would happen only when the machine was worn out. I agreed with respect to particular Providence, but, as to the evils and accidents, which here befall us, I thought them belonging to our destination. Our nature is made such as to be able, and called upon, to transmute all evil into good; and, the universe being so constructed that the destination of each being is provided for, we find, in the world without, that what is called evil and accident is the very means to exercise our free agency, and to improve through our own exertion. Accordingly I thought such accidents would not cease, however perfect we might become.

"Future life. I asserted the immortality of our moral nature; she, that our moral would be swallowed up in divine nature. She reminded me of the nature of angels, whom I thought less perfect than man, if they had no moral freedom, — divine animals. But I

observed, that the Bible speaks of angels having fallen, and that this implies also the possibility of rising to goodness; as we cannot suppose evil to be made more powerful than good by the Creator.

"She referred me to the nature of God himself, whom I certainly could not believe a *moral* being, striving to overcome temptation by his own free exertion, and therefore liable to sin. I observed, that we know God only as he manifests himself in the universe, and not God's being in itself; and that it does not follow that his nature must be either like that in animals, being directed by necessity, or like that of man as a free agent. For his nature, from which necessity and free agency originate, may be different from both, exceeding our conception. We love him because we see that his chief intention is the perfection of his creatures, and that is, in living beings, their happiness.

"This conversation reminded me of one I had with Dr. Channing, on the same subject, at Newport, walking on the sea-shore. In this life, at least, the more perfect we grow, the more we are tempted in proportion, either to rest on our laurels, or to exert the means which we have acquired by our exertion for our own elevation, and not for mankind. The Bible speaks of the fall of angels, and it is very probable that this will be in the future state as it is in this. Moral satisfaction, without which there is no other real satisfaction, is not founded upon having once been virtuous, but upon our actually being so; and we rise in happiness as we rise in virtue. It is a common

experience, that you may trust a person in certain things, but not trust him when the temptation is much greater than that which he has perfectly overcome, and which is therefore no longer a temptation to him. Many of those whose common honesty may be relied on, cannot be trusted in other respects, as ambition, haughtiness, oppression of rivals, &c. It is remarkable of rich men, that they commonly want to be judged by the same rule of common honesty, which is applicable to the poor; whereas, that which in one is virtue, is not the same in another. I therefore maintained the immortality of our moral nature, and that our ideas of the future state must be formed on the basis of the present. Dr. Channing thought these views peculiar and interesting.

"13th. In the morning I wrote a part of my sermon on the immortality of the soul. In the afternoon I went to Boston to Miss C——'s, where I met Miss R——. We conversed first on the manner in which children are taught religion. Bad consequences of the doctrine of fear in an age of weakness and utter dependence on others. Men are greatly indebted to Christianity, and, in the true moral point of view, to Christianity alone, for the representation of God under the character of a father; but this generally is not rightly understood and represented to others. The child's objection is, If God is our father, how is it that we do not see him? The true answer is, that the child does not see his own father, but only his body. This may be brought home to the mind of the child, according to the individual extent of his

conceptions, that, as the body of his father, his eyes, language, actions, are manifestations of the spirit of his father, of his love, wisdom, and energy, thus the universe discovers the mind of the universal Father. We love another kind Being, though we do not see what we love in him.

" After tea we played *little word* with little Fred.

" 14th. Dr. Ware told me, that Talleyrand, while he was here in the time of the Revolution (after having been forbidden to remain in England), feigned not to understand the English language at all, and, being introduced into the first families in Boston, Philadelphia, and all the principal cities of this country, he listened as a spy to all their conversations, which at that time turned upon politics. After his return to France, he was immediately put in a high office, probably to reward his espionage, which had made him acquainted with all the leading interests and men of this country.

" 15th. Conversation with Dr. W., on religious conferences, as they ought to be conducted by the minister, affording opportunity to every one to communicate his doubts and his convictions. Dr. W. observed, that, in country parishes, the minister is not unfrequently, though perhaps the most learned, yet not the brightest of his people; and many, whose power consists in skepticism on controversial points, take such an opportunity of embarrassing the minister. But I remarked, that this would be a very good check upon those who enter the ministry without real fitness for it; and, on the other hand, a motive for constant

study and exertion, to those who are settled. He expressed his agreement.

"In the evening, first religious meeting at Dr. Channing's, who was very cheerful, and whose whole soul seemed to flow forth in all its purity and excellence. The persons present seemed delighted with seeing each other again, and more social. Many of the ladies spoke more freely than was formerly the case. The subject was moral and religious education. Sunday schools. Christianity taught as a particular form of religion, not as the essence, and most perfect emanation, of religion. Developement of the moral and religious principle. Anecdotes illustrating the moral and religious nature of children. I was reminded of my good little brother Herman, who died at four years of age. He used to shut himself up in the stable, when he had done wrong, to help away his pain. I could not mention the fact, from a feeling which was made clear to me from the remark of a mother, who was asked why she had not mentioned at the meeting her own remarkable experience, concerning the developement of the moral and religious nature of her children. Her answer was, 'I felt as if it were exposing my children.'

"Goodness from instruction is not virtue; virtue is from conviction and free exertion. Want of respect for the nature of children,—and distrust. Prayer an involuntary expression of the state of our soul. Dr. Channing concluded with prayer.

"16th. In the evening I went to Dr. C.'s, where I found Mr. P——. Conversation about the usefulness

of works of imagination, and, in general, of the use of works of fiction in the education of children. We agreed, that there was too much of this excitement in our days, to the neglect of more serious and arduous studies; but Mr. P—— seemed to think that the use of moral anecdotes would be injurious to the principle of truth. He thought the energy of a child's mind was impaired by living in these worlds of imagination, which rendered him disgusted with the imperfections of reality, and unable to act in real life with efficiency. I observed that a good education, calculated to develope all the faculties of the mind, would make a child desirous to realize his schemes of perfection in the real world; that all improvement was essentially dependent on imagination; that all the inventions by which the good of mankind had been promoted, were the productions of an imagination improving upon the results of perception. Dr. C. assented to this opinion, and applied it to Newton. Mr. P—— had maintained, that such a mind could not grow up under novel-reading, and dealing in fictions. There was a candor in all the assertions and arguments of Mr. P——, a love of truth, which I have never seen more strikingly manifested.

"18th. Visit at Mrs. S——'s. Her son, one of my best scholars in German, killed by a blow from the bowsprit of a vessel. I told her, that I thought the death of such pure beings, though a sad disappointment of our earthly affections, yet the dearest and most certain assurance of our immortality; an earnest of our meeting again. She told me, that she

felt perfectly convinced of her meeting her child in a better state, and that nothing but the separation troubled her mind.

"19th. Had a conversation with Dr. W. on German theologians. He called their opinions impious and dangerous. I observed, that the common fault in judging of German theologians, consists in ranging them under certain heads; although each individual teacher differed perhaps as much from those with whom he has some views in common, as these views differ from those of the defenders of a different creed. He said, that this difference is to be found also in this country, among the Unitarians as well as the orthodox; but that many did not fully express their opinions. I observed, that this timidity had done much injury; that in German literature there was more frankness; that the worst of all the consequences of erroneous opinions was this, they induced those, who think differently, to endeavour to suppress them, or at least to represent them as dangerous. He agreed, but said, that in many cases an entire disclosure of one's own faith could not be of use to others, while it is apt to destroy the usefulness, and means of living, of him who holds these opinions.

"21st. Conversation with G——, about German art and literature, its history and character. Striving after absolute perfection, and therefore only beginnings in any thing. In paintings commonly every thing neglected for the expression of the face; as the daylight in the landscape, so the expression of the German face is spread over the whole, not concentrated as

in the faces of the Italians and French. There is not one Gothic building entirely finished. The church reformation. Inventions of all kinds improved in other countries.

"27th. Meeting of the Sunday-School Teachers at Dr. Channing's. Went there with the Miss C——s, Mr. Harry Sedgwick and his excellent wife. We wrote questions upon pieces of paper before we went.

"Dr. Channing first asked the teachers if they had any questions to propose. History of Peter; his expression, 'I will not forsake thee, though all should forsake thee,'—not an expression of too great and blamable confidence, but of strong affection. But it afterwards became his judge, as he did not act up to it.

"The subject of gratitude was discussed. I maintained, that gratitude is the desire of doing good to those, who have shown us the intention of doing good to us; or the desire of contributing to the happiness of those who have contributed to ours. This shows, that we have no reason to be grateful to the Deity, if he has created some for eternal misery, unless we belong to the chosen few. Moreover, we are told to love even our enemies: 'for if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye?' &c. 'Be perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect.' This shows, that true gratitude is love, excited by benefits conferred on us. But this love ought to exist equally, if this same kind spirit has been manifested toward others. It cannot be moral to love a person more on this account, that *we* have been the objects of his kindness.

Christ bids us, through precept and example, to consider all men as brothers, sisters, and children. This is not a mere figure. It may be, and is commonly, the excuse, that we have better proof of the kindness of our nearest friends, than of others. But, on equally strong proof we owe to one as much love and kindness as to the other. Or, as true Christians, we should rather say, we are bound in truth to acknowledge the kindness of one as much as of the other. (For love we owe even to our enemies.) Dr. Channing observed, that Godwin has advanced the doctrine, that gratitude, distinct from general benevolence, is selfishness. He puts the alternative of two persons in danger; one is our benefactor, and the other the benefactor of mankind (Fenelon, for instance), and we can save only one of them; what is our duty? He put the question to me, with the modification, if that person is, according to our conviction, a far more valuable member of the human family, than the other who is our parent, whom should I prefer to save, Fenelon or the parent?

"I replied, that I could not with certainty say, what I, being brought up with individual family feelings, should do in such a case; but, if I were quite certain of doing more good by saving the one than the other, I should feel bound in conscience to save Fenelon. This declaration seemed to startle the persons present. But Miss P—— observed, that Fenelon himself, according to his principles, would have decided in the same manner.

"Dr. C. spoke against this calculation of the

comparative good consequences of an action, which must be in itself either right or wrong. He thought higher of those actions which tended to a definite, though limited object, than of those which are calculated to promote the general good, as it is called. He thought my decision wrong, and appealed to the natural feelings of every one present. He thought this feeling implanted by God, whose interest in his creatures is not only a general one, but embraces each in his whole individuality. His love, therefore, varies toward each individual. Thus, our love, also, is the more perfect the more it is individual. Therefore, he thought the love we have to our nearest friends more perfect than general benevolence. He thought it an essential quality of our nature to adhere most to him who knows us entirely, and is devoted to us in every respect. To him we are bound, and him we ought to prefer to all the world.

"I agreed with him with respect to the character of God (as I had on a former occasion expressed to him); his love being directed to each being, with all his peculiar qualities and wants. The perfection of the divine love, however, consists in two characteristics, namely, that its object is each being, and adapted to his whole individual nature. I agreed with him, that the love of one toward another which prompts him only to provide for him in certain respects, is less perfect than that love which takes care of all his wants and concerns, and that, therefore, human government, and all the actions of men for the general good, are less perfect than the government of God.

"But there is another ground of relative perfection; for instance, the love of a father is less perfect, if he is devoted to some of his children, than if he embraces, with equally intense interest, each of them in his individual capacity. To love more or fewer men, and to love them more or less, are the two characteristics of the degree of perfection in love. The principle of morality is, to do the most good we can; and, therefore, we do more good by saving him who does more good than another, although the latter has done good to us. This last circumstance can operate only on the selfish, but cannot weigh with the moral principle. Therefore, if, in such a case, we oppose the principle of gratitude to that of general love, it is opposing selfishness to morality.

"I ought to have mentioned, that the question, with regard to the parent, was not quite fair; as a man might, from other considerations than that of gratitude, be induced to save his parent rather than any one else. This was a remark of Gräter, and it led me to think of the relative value of the natural affections. I think that they are the means to form true spiritual bonds of mutual dependence and improvement, and occasion far truer and lasting union; but they are not of themselves such bonds. These natural ties are so important as to induce us to save a natural connexion rather than a stranger, whenever we are not certain of the greater worth of the latter. But whenever we are assured of this, the stranger (like the Samaritan in the parable) becomes our nearest friend, while the natural connexion is supplanted

by another spiritual one, of which it is only the means.

" The subject of our conversation had been somewhat altered while discussing it; we were speaking less of gratitude than of particular and general benevolence. As we cannot, like the Deity, embrace all persons and all their concerns in our love, we must do as much as we can; and, at the same time that we promote the general interest of the community, have the particular concerns of our nearest friends at heart. The degree, in which we ought to devote ourselves to either of these objects of our activity, depends on our faculties and circumstances; and, accordingly, each may claim the preference in particular cases.

" Dr. C. concluded with an excellent prayer, dissolving all differences into one holy accord.

" I went with Miss C—— and Mrs. and Mrs. S—— to the house of Miss C——. Mr. Sedgwick thought I was right, and put Washington in the place of Fenelon, which seemed to induce Miss C—— to adopt the same opinion, though she was not decided.

" 28th. In the morning went with Gräter to the hospital to be interpreter to Mrs. Hegel, a poor, sick, German woman.

" 28th. In the evening, visit at Mr. ——'s. Mrs. —— is one of those women whose whole appearance is transparent goodness, the good part of Martha, united with the better part of Mary. Mr. —— joined our company after some time; very friendly, and without that harshness, which sometimes dims the ex-

pression of clear and strenuous performance of duty. All was pleasant.

"29th. Gräter and I dined at Dr. ——'s. Miss ——, in all her moral beauty, shining forth in her features, motions, and dress, and sounding through every note in her voice.

"In the evening, conversation with Gräter about Christianity, of which so little appears in the life of mankind in general. Rich and poor; tyrants and slaves; moral judgment perverted by false distinctions.

"I frequently thought, to-day, of my family, — my good old father. On thanksgiving day, the members of every family in New England meet, if possible, at the house of the head of the family. In the morning there is service in all the churches. The day is appointed by the Governor. All congregations are invited to celebrate it; and men are requested to abstain from all business which is inconsistent with the celebration of the day. The poorest families are provided for, by the rich, on that day, that they may join in the universal rejoicing. Instead of the Easter lamb, a turkey.

"After midnight, succeeded in bringing down my journal to the present moment.

"Conversation with Dr. W. about the value of the constitution of this country. The great principle, that general interests are left to the decision of the general government, while particular concerns are settled by the States and communities to which they belong. This principle of confederation was want-

ing to the States of Greece. Otherwise the difference between the democratic state of things and tendencies in Athens, and the aristocratic constitution of Sparta, might have been decided by the prevalence of truth in the public opinion. Without the federal constitution and general government, Virginia and Massachusetts would have acted against each other in the same manner as formerly Athens and Sparta.

"December 1st. Conversation with Gräter, in the morning, about feeling. He takes it as immediate perception (*unmittelbare Anschauung*), particularly of spiritual things, the conception being derived from feeling (*Gefühl*), the sense of touch. But this definition does not suit the idea of pleasure and pain being the two phenomena of feeling, (for the conceptions of these feelings are different from the feelings themselves.) In German, we have two words, *Gefühl* and *Empfindung*, which are frequently employed indefinitely and promiscuously. But it seems more according to usage to understand, by *Empfindung*, every immediate perception, sensual or spiritual, and by *Gefühl*, those actions, by which the soul expresses the relation of the state of our being to its own impulses, the different degrees of satisfaction or dissatisfaction; the two great steps in the progress of human nature. The judgment by feeling is nothing else than this satisfaction or dissatisfaction with an object which affects us, without being conscious of its reasons.

"Why has the idea of finding a rational will, expressed in creation, been so much thrown into the

background, in Germany, since Kant? Because it is not a logical conclusion, or mathematical demonstration. Mathematics are here out of place, and, as to logic, it is evident, that it contains nothing but the axiom of identity, which is itself derived from experience. (*A* is not *non A*, that is, *A* is *A*; it is this *A* is *A*, to which all logical reasoning must be reduced.) Is it not perfectly natural for us to employ our own nature for the explanation of the universe? As we know by experience, as far as this extends, that our nature is essentially the same with the corresponding things without us; namely, we are able to show the elements and laws which our body has in common with the rest of the corporeal world. The phenomena of life, too, are analogous, as physiology shows. Besides these natural endowments of bodies, plants, and animals, we find a spiritual nature, the will, or an absolute power of acting independent of every law (being a law to itself), and reason, the power of conceiving of absolute perfection. Our own happiness (perfection of feeling) consists in the conformity of our will to our reason. The more we know of the universe, we find in it such an absolute acting to the purpose of infinite perfection as evidently as we find it in human actions. It is, therefore, perfectly natural for us to find a universal mind in the universe, with reason, will, and feeling. This must fortify us against doubt; as the faculty of doubting becomes mere dreaming if it exceeds the limits of its destination, which is to sound every one of our conceptions, to see whether it be acquired by an exercise of our

faculties consistent with our nature, or not. (To doubt every thing is as unreasonable as to doubt nothing.)

"This I say of the general endowments of our nature, which are given to us, not as a settled possession, but only as means and motives of attaining the object of our nature, perfection. The full exercise of our will and our reason, and the attainment of happiness, are made dependent on our own exertion in conquering temptations, which are all contained in the general impulse to be satisfied with those enjoyments which do not depend on moral exertion. This particular endowment of our nature, the necessity of moral exertion, we cannot transfer to the character of the Deity, as it is only the characteristic of our own special rank in the scale of beings, the manner in which we may act up to the law of our being. Therefore, we cannot call God a virtuous or a non-virtuous being.

"Moreover, in us the power of willing and fulfilling are separated. This characteristic is a mark of our peculiar finite rank in creation, and, therefore, not attributable to the Deity. His will is creative action. All beings (we know), from the physical elements up to man, are creatures to which a particular rank is assigned in the scale of creation, with no other endowment than to fill their place. Man belongs to these different degrees of existence by his corporeal, vegetative, and animal nature. But by his spiritual endowments, he stands above the other attributes of his own nature, and of that of the things without him. The scale of perfection, from the elements to man,

and his own infinite perfectibility, show us, that he is the beginner of a new order of beings; namely, those whose destiny is not to fill a necessary place in the scale of perfection, but to make the law of the universe, perfection in general, infinite perfection, his law. This endowment constitutes his relationship to superhuman beings, the existence of which is probable, from the scale of perfection which is evidently established with respect to all the beings we know. There are probably many beings higher than we, on account of their greater means of approaching perfection, as this difference exists among men. But it seems to be the characteristic of all spiritual beings, to be endowed with the faculties to act independently according to the idea of infinite perfection; and their destination is expressed not only in the faculties, (reason and will,) but also in the impulses of their nature, and in the feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, according as they comply with the will of God expressed in their own nature.

"It is evident from this representation, that, of all earthly beings, man alone finds in his nature the ground for the explanation of the universe, and a general perception of the Deity. He has in himself those faculties and motives, of which he finds the marks expressed in the universe.

Conversation with Dr. Channing in the evening. Condition of servants, and those who are occupied with what are called the lower employments. Idea of independence gained by their work elevates them above it, as Dr. Channing observed; I added the

idea of order, neatness, perfection in its kind, which is or ought to be aimed at even in the lowest occupations, ennobling them. Moral difference between people in factories, and those who work by themselves; dependent on the owner; occupied with something entirely mechanical; wheels in the machinery. In making a comfortable and handsome coat, or shoe, judgment and taste are involved. Dr. Channing agreed in these views, and earnestly urged the duty of educating the poor, so as to render them capable of higher enjoyments. I remarked, that the chief cause of the distance between the higher and lower classes (so called) consists in the manners; and that I thought the Sunday-schools would have, in this respect, an excellent influence. Tariff question. Shall Congress increase the duties on foreign manufactures, in order to support domestic factories? We agreed, that temporary evils might arise to a country from the abolition of all tolls and custom-houses; but that, in the end, the country must profit by the true cosmopolitical principle of free trade. Difficulty of persuading the Americans to adopt direct taxes, which would become necessary for the support of government by the abolition of the duties of entry.

"Dr. Channing expected good success from appealing to the common sense of the people, who are obliged to pay the same now, only in an indirect way. I observed upon the mischief arising from an increase of duties on imported articles, and unnatural support of home factories, as it would destroy the enterprising spirit which led the people to culti-

vate new lands whenever the population became too thick, thus enlarging the cultivation of the country, and renewing or sustaining the sound spirit of the people, instead of yielding to the temptation of ease in the factories, so bad, particularly for children.

"At nine o'clock called at Miss ——'s, who had been so kind as to leave a message for me, to join them at Mr. ——'s. This message was so much the more pleasant to me, as they did not know that I should call.

"Sunday. I went to the hospital immediately after breakfast, to see Mrs. Hegel; it took me only half an hour; the old woman seems much better; she felt happy to see me, and praised very much the kind attention which was paid her.

"I am very much struck with the good manner and the minuteness of Dr. Jackson in visiting and questioning the sick. The sick are well accommodated in large, high, and clean rooms. Beautiful prospect.

"In the evening went to Dr. Channing's. We talked about common occupations. I mentioned, that I had seen some of the first lawyers in Philadelphia, carrying a turkey home from market.

"4th. In the evening a meeting of a society for education, at Mr. P——'s. I missed a part of the conversation on the Old Testament. On religious education in general, Mr. P. thought, that we commonly do and expect too much in religious instruction. Christianity was not forced upon mankind; on the contrary, man was left to misunderstand and corrupt it, and make it an excuse for oppression and all sorts of

crime. Man is a free agent in judgment, and in practice, and should be instructed with this view.

"Dr. Channing stated the necessity of new light in this instruction, as being not sufficiently effectual. Being asked for my opinion, by Dr. Channing, I said, that our common religious instruction seemed to me defective, particularly on account of a want of true reality. It is a false reality to teach children, that God sees them and hears them; because it is not true, and the children are right in not believing it. For the truth of an assertion must be tried by the idea it is calculated to impress on the mind of the hearers, and the child cannot help understanding that assertion as implying, that God has eyes and ears and must be visible. On the other hand we labor under a nominalism, consisting in abstract notions in conveying religious ideas to children. They know nothing of a first cause, or of abstract notions of good and evil. But if we only allow the child's mind to develope itself naturally, it will find God in the universe and in itself. The comparison of the marks of creative reason, with the equally evident and much more perfect manifestations of creative intelligence in the works of nature, cannot fail to open the mind to religious truth. Therefore I should prefer not speaking of religion, not giving them names and abstract notions, before they are acquainted with the realities they belong to.

"Dr. Channing said, that in Scotland this mode had been pursued in one instance with a happy effect. But in general it would be impossible, in the present state

of the world, at least in this country, to shut out a child from the established notions of religion. I remarked, that at least the instruction in the real objects, outward nature, and our own mind, and God's influence on it, should be carried on at the same time, in order to give reality to those notions. Dr. Channing thought the great object in moral education to be, the rendering children conscious of the power of self-exertion in themselves. Miss R—— observed, that she still recollected the overflowing happiness she felt, after having, for the first time, overcome her own inclination. I remarked, that this is the true way of leading children to morality, namely, to make them conscious of this exceeding happiness.

"5th. I went to see Dr. Channing, to whom I read a poem of Mr. Dana's, which led us to speak of immortality, being frequently considered as an existence, entirely separated from the present, instead of thinking that we have already entered upon our immortality. The thought is not familiar to us, as it ought to be. Dr. Channing, when we were alone, said that he was conscious of the defects of our present system of Christianity, consisting of shadows more than realities; that he was indebted to me for some views of individual action, but that he thinks none of us has succeeded in obtaining the true universal view of Christianity, the nature of man and his relation to the Deity. I said, that the history of the developement of the human mind seems to show us, that the regeneration of our religious state is not to arise from one master mind, as it appeared in Jesus;

but from the coöperation of kindred minds under the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which has been promised to the true followers of Christ. He seemed to be pleased with this idea, and then spoke of the principal object of our elevating our souls to God. It is not the knowledge of God which the soul seeks, so much as it strives to find the object of that infinite love, which is the very life of our minds.

" 6th. Conversation with Gräter about the nature of what is called dissonance. I thought it consists in two notes interfering with each other, so as not to be capable of being heard together without partly destroying one another. Harmonious sounds may be heard together, without jarring against one another. Gräter tried to explain it by the different vibrations. The harmonious sounds probably vibrate in equal proportions, the discords in irrational quantities. Then he thought it resembled discordant colors. Dissonance seems to be the same thing in sounds and colors as in ideas, one contradicting another. With respect to sounds and colors, we have observed the feeling of displeasure, and have made this feeling the characteristic of the phenomenon, which can certainly not be explained in this manner. But I think that the idea, that one sound prevents the other, partly, from being heard at the same time, comes nearer to an explanation. I recollect an observation of my eldest brother, that natural music, as the roaring of the wind, or water, never produces any discord ; and that whatever music men may make, the former is always a fit accompaniment for it. This agrees in

some respect with the idea of Newton, that the sunlight contains all colors, which appear singly when broken on objects. This is the case with the music of Nature, as I observed last winter, that the Æolian harp produces the harshest dissonances, as well as the most harmonious sounds, when the strings are not tuned alike.

"In the evening I went to Miss C——'s, where Miss R—— was. I read to them some extracts from Faust, translated by Gower, so as to give an idea of the whole. I had to take some pains to avert all prejudice with respect to the supposed immorality of the piece. Introductory scene in Heaven; that is, that Heaven, which popular Christian mythology, partly founded on Jewish notions, has imagined. The beginning like the Book of Job; Faust, mistaking the feeling of deep worldly desire, which he has neither satisfied nor overcome, for a disappointment of his most ardent and infinite desire of knowledge. After he had been scorned by the spirit, which he had raised, and after his design of finding out, through death, those secrets, which in this life he could not discover, had been changed by the anthem of Easter, he yields to the tempter, who promises satisfaction of his glowing desires. The same thing we have seen in fanatics becoming a prey to frantic lust; and Göthe has here unfolded a true phenomenon of the soul, only substituting magic glare for the fire of fanaticism. The soliliquy of the Devil, after Faust has retired to get himself ready for the journey of life, shows this idea; despising the legitimate exertions of the intel-

lect, because they cannot produce the desired effects, and seeking to obtain them by supernatural means. There remains enough excellence in Faust, even after his fall, to preserve our interest in him. Margaret full of young innocence and affection; but her moral character, consisting more in unacquaintance with evil than in active virtue, exhibits another phenomenon of the soul, as true as it is distressing. Her fall, through womanly vanity, and implicit confidence, and giving up herself entirely to the object of her love. Her final triumph over the power of evil, by refusing the proffered liberty, and by expiating her sin by her death. The claims of Hell refuted by the pardon of Heaven. Her last words, 'Henry! Henry!' which seem to imply a power of reclaiming, perhaps at a remote time, even him to virtue. Thus the piece ends, precisely where the moral and poetical taste of the reader requires its end.

"It seemed to produce a great effect on my hearers. Afterwards we conversed on happiness being the ultimate object of all our actions; moral happiness, in opposition to sensual gratification, requires a struggle with our sensual self. That moral happiness has been mistaken (also by Paley) for a kind of refined selfishness. He overlooked the circumstance, that the tendency of our moral self is entirely disinterested and general, (perfection in general being its object); and that any idea, in order to become a motive of an action, must please us; becoming thus an object of our feelings, a cause of our happiness, and, on this account, desirable. I had the pleasure to see

how Miss C—— defended this idea, which we had once before discussed together. Miss R—— agreed with us. Miss S. C—— defended the idea of Kant, that the performance of duty has nothing to do with our regard to our happiness; that the looking out for a reward spoils our moral actions. She overlooked, that the certain expectation of moral happiness does not free us from the necessity of a struggle with our passions, which tend to sensual gratification, without any moral exertion; and that this very struggle, undertaken in the expectation of moral happiness, constitutes the character of virtue. Miss R—— gave me a new book; she wanted me to write the first thoughts in it; she would not have it called an album.

"7th. The whole day at home. In the evening went to see Mrs. Randolph. She told me of the beautiful birds of Virginia. The three mocking birds of her father, Thomas Jefferson. One of them with him at Washington, during his presidency. The bird commonly in his room, on his foot, knee, or shoulder, and puffed up his plumes angrily whenever a stranger approached.

"8th. I wrote in Miss R——'s book.

"'To Miss R——

"'Amidst the infinite variety of features, by which the minds of individuals are characterized, there is a family likeness by which all the children of God, in whatever part of the earth they are born, and wheresoever they meet, are sure of recognising each other. This truth, to which I owe the assurance of your

friendship, has enabled both you and me to find beyond the sea a home, and a circle of kindred minds, which long to see that fire burn, which our blessed friend in Heaven came to kindle here on earth. You have shown us, by your example, that the principle of an immediate divine influence on the human mind, while it punishes with madness the fanatic who abuses it, is in reality the perfection of a genuine Christian character. Like a holy fire, it consumes all earthly affections, which we offer up on the altar of our own heart, and fills our whole being with light and warmth. It is the sky-light, which at once illumines the whole gallery of sacred paintings, exhibited in the word of God; parts of which may indeed be illustrated by lights from various sides, while, in its full truth and glory, it appears only when lighted up by the same heavenly ray, which sustained and directed those, whose characters are there depicted.

"'I rejoice that this book, offered to me, in order that through my writing it might cease to be an album, affords me an opportunity of performing toward you the duty of true gratitude, which in my opinion consists in giving to those, who have endeavoured to promote our happiness, the hearty assurance, that their labor has not been in vain. C. F.

"' *Cambridge*, 8 *December*, 1827.'

"Gräter sick all day. Mrs. W—— sends jellies, &c. According to him, I am a Christian up to the arms (according to a Swabian proverb); the heart Chris-

tian, the arms somewhat violent, and the head too much directed to the outward world.

"12th. Gräter better. Conversation about Herder; his capacity of conceiving and regarding the individuality of nations, men, productions of art, and literature. His 'Balde Ideen zur Gesch. d. Ph.,' which gave all the valuable ideas in the German philosophy of nature. His 'Stimmen der Völker.'

"We spoke about the conception of beauty, which he, like Jean Paul, thinks undefinable. I think general beauty consists in infinite variety, and harmony. This is the beauty of the universe. With respect to single things, we find them more or less beautiful, as they more or less express the idea of the universe. Then we talked of Kant's Categories. System of Oken explained.

"13th. In the morning went in to see Mrs. Hegel, in the hospital. Found her better. Then to Lieber, who read to me a letter from Niebuhr, who had procured him the appointment as a correspondent for the 'Allg. Zeitung und Morgenblatt.' It contained excellent views of the duties of such a correspondent. *Facta, facta.* The correspondent is the ambassador of the public, not of the journal.

"Meeting at Dr. Channing's. Subject, gratitude. More gentlemen present than on former occasions. Judge Davis asked, that the principal question of the last meeting might be stated. Dr. Channing did it in this manner; whether gratitude was a feeling distinct from general benevolence, and whether it imposed on us particular duties toward the benefac-

tor? I tried to fix it more distinctly, by asking, whether the regard due to gratitude could alter those moral obligations, which were enjoined on us by justice and kindness? as in the case where we are able to save either a benefactor of mankind, or one who is only our personal benefactor. I mentioned, that in the case of Fenelon and the parent, we had mixed up other relations with that of benefits conferred, and that it implied a degree of uncertainty with respect to the relative importance of the two individuals. Therefore this was not an appropriate example. Dr. Channing stated a difference between moral and instinctive gratitude. The latter is a natural tendency, excited by the fact of benefit conferred on us; the former founded on reflection. He said, that from instinctive gratitude persons are excited to do acts, which their moral sense, and perhaps their benefactor himself, do not wholly approve. Mr. Russell observed, that this seemed to decide the question with respect to Fenelon and the parent; as we in such a moment should not be allowed any reflection, but act from instinctive gratitude, and probably save him who is nearest. Mr. Sedgwick observed, that this could not decide the question at all, as a person must be supposed capable of exercising his reason, in order to determine which of two possible actions his reason approves. I thought it not worth while to add, that it is our duty so to use our reason, so to settle our principles, that, in a moment which requires immediate action, we act only from our rational instinct, or that reason then may act instinctively. Dr. Channing said, as an evidence of

gratitude being not a selfish, but a generous principle, that the most noble characters are most grateful. I agreed with him, with respect to the excellence of the sentiment itself, but mentioned that it might be mixed with a very servile character. Thus Europe shows us a great number of slaves and villains out of gratitude. Judge Davis remarked, that other duties may outweigh that of gratitude, as when a judge has to decide a cause between his enemy and his benefactor.

"Mr. Sedgwick then proposed the question, if we may save either thousands, for instance an army, or only one benefactor. Dr. Channing agreed, that, in this case, the thousands must have the preference; that, in such strong and clear cases, our duty is evident; but he asked me whether this suited my views entirely? I answered that it does, and that his argument decides, also, the case of last evening, between Fenelon and the parent. For Fenelon was at that time not mentioned as Fenelon and the parent not as a parent; but the latter as merely a personal benefactor of him who is to act, and the other as a benefactor of mankind, who must be ranked as those thousands, who are to be preferred to one, however we may be indebted to him. He answered, that last evening we had taken this for granted, that the relative merit and worth of the two individuals was clear.

"I proceeded to state my definition of true gratitude, which consists in the desire of showing to those who have endeavoured to promote our happiness, that they have obtained their object. If we try to make others happy, we wish, and ought to wish, that they

should know not us, but our motives. For this knowledge will contribute to their happiness, although all those means, by which we intend otherwise to promote it, should fail. And, on the other hand, the greatness of the benefit cannot make up for the motive; no benefit can produce that happiness, which produces gratitude, if that favor did not spring from the *design* of promoting our happiness. To satisfy that interest of every benefactor, in the acknowledgment of his intention, is the purpose of gratitude. With respect to other men we need some sign, word, or action, to express this acknowledgment. Toward our heavenly Benefactor, we need only the acknowledgment itself, the act of the soul, which refers to his kindness the happiness it experiences. This acknowledgment is the particular duty of gratitude. But kindness shown to us has also a more general influence on us; it is an impulse, which awakes the principle of love in our hearts, by the law of association and imitation, as we find that the noble actions of others remind us of our own duties. But this general impulse is produced by any virtuous action of others, whether we be the object of it or not. Therefore this effect of kindness on the minds of others cannot be strictly called gratitude. It seemed to be the general opinion, that children, under eight or nine years, do not discover gratitude toward God. Dr. Channing thought, the reason why we commonly do not succeed in inducing children to gratitude toward God, consists in our not connecting this sentiment with the prominent principle in childhood, namely,

free joy. We ought to represent to them God as the source of their innocent enjoyments. Miss P—— observed, that she knew a child, who thanked God sincerely for having a dancing-school and little balls. I added to Dr. Channing's remarks, that I thought this principle the true one, that we show the children, that even their sorrows and sufferings are intended for their happiness. But as it is with respect to human benefactors, that we do not feel grateful to them, unless their benefits flowed from the true purpose of benevolence, so we must endeavour to show the children, that God *desires* their joy, has their happiness at heart.

"14th. Gräter out for the first time. I wrote a part of the story of the 'German Girl' I promised to E. L. C. I feel some doubts with respect to the sufficiency of my definition of gratitude. Is it not to be considered as the first developement of the general principle of love out of that of selfishness? Does it not, like family and country, determine our next duties, which are to be performed if we are not convinced of higher ones claiming our activity in preference to those?

"15th. Dined at ——. There was one person at table, who had some time ago behaved ill toward me, when he was intoxicated. I had met him afterward, on several occasions, and I had kept him at a distance, not from any feeling of revenge, but to make him feel the consequences his conduct deserved. It evidently caused him much pain; and so to-day, when he approached me with anxiety, I offered him

my hand, and drank wine with him, and had the pleasure to perceive, by his looks and words, that I had succeeded in calling up his better nature.

"Conversation with Gräter, on fashionable society, which he thought absolutely reprehensible. I mentioned its benefits, as that swearing and bad language are banished from it, and fine manners and appearance are cultivated. But there are many defects, as, if one cannot buy such clothes as are worn, he is excluded; and many things are done in order to prevent the poor from imitation. Bad taste is maintained as good taste, only by riches and high rank. But what is really good in high life, ought to be made universal; and this extension of itself would cure that which is faulty in it.

"In the evening went to Dr. Channing's. He made me read to him, and told me to do so for an hour, every time I should come to see him. I read a part of Foster's Introduction to his 'Rise and Progress of Religion in the Mind.' There was much solemn gloom and heaviness in the book, but some striking passages. I spoke against preaching either joy or sorrow as duties; they are natural states of the mind. If mortification is the natural consequence of a transition from irreligion to religion, it ought not to be preached against, nor the reverse. We ought to preach happiness through exertion, whether our way goes through tears or sunshine.

"17th. Went to Mr. ——'s. They tried to draw me out concerning my opinion of the first part of Walter Scott's 'Napoleon'; which I had represented

as superficial and partial. I told them simply, that Scott had exaggerated the good qualities of the royalists, and concealed or adorned their vices; that he had shamefully treated Lafayette; that he had given a description of the Girondists, which exalts them at the expense of the Jacobins, concealing their tendency to refined aristocracy and atheism; that he had exaggerated the faults of the Jacobins, and concealed their great qualities; that he had confounded them with their enemies the anarchists and atheists, the party of Hebert; that the motives he lends to Robespierre do not explain the least action of his life; that he does not know, or pretends not to know, that the plan of the Jacobins was the idea of the Abbé de Mably, and that he does not speak of the excellence of their private life, compared with that of the other parties. I spoke of Robespierre's excellent discourse on Religion, and his mistake of introducing it by law according to the idea of Mably; that he destroyed his greatest supporters, if they proved to be anarchists, or interested men, &c. Mr. W——, who was present, mentioned, that it was the Archbishop of Paris, who was the principal agent in abolishing Christianity.

"18th. Meeting of the Society for Education at Dr. Channing's house. Subject, — Teaching the ancient languages to young ladies. This led to the subject of teaching languages, grammatically, to children. I thought the natural way is to teach children what they are interested about, natural history, and history of man, and of the principles and laws of nature and human nature, (for instance, the power

of conscience, and the essence of virtue, which is self-exertion) as much as their minds are capable of conceiving. Nouns, pronouns, &c., are things entirely strange to their mind. I remarked, that natural phenomena ought to be explained in such a manner, as not to rob the imagination of its share in the view of nature; that the being acquainted with the process of combustion, does not imply a cessation of the enjoyment of its beauty. I enjoy the beauty of a painting, although I know how it is made. With regard to a remark of Dr. Channing's, that teaching grammar exercises the power of discriminating and arranging objects, I said, that the same powers might be more effectually exercised upon natural objects, showing their more or less general or peculiar qualities, according to which they are to be classified. I insisted upon the principle of the developement of the natural curiosity.

"19th. Beginning of our college vacation for a fortnight. In the morning I wrote upon my story, 'The German Girl.' The main part is true, namely, her being a poor girl without advantages of education; that considerable offers were made to her for her hair; that she declined them, and afterwards brought it to the public auction secretly, as a patriotic gift. This the lady herself, Bertha Werner, then the wife of the privy counsellor of finances, Bär, told my brother in Wetzlar.

"In the evening a long discussion with the Miss C——s about conscience. E—— startled at my remark, that conscience consisted only in approving or disapproving the degree in which we use our own pow-

ers, without speaking of certain actions. Therefore many persons think and act conscientiously wrong. She supposed conscience to be the immediate influence and voice of God within us. Whereas I considered it as merely the act of our own nature, judging itself; therefore, not immediately connected with religion. They agreed, that conscience is the source of feeling, namely, happiness or misery, according to our own conduct, and not a source of ideas or perceptions.

"20th. Reading party in the evening at Mrs. S. C——'s. I read extracts from 'Faust,' as on a former occasion at Miss C——'s. I did it at the request of Mrs. C——. They all seemed deeply impressed, and said, that Shakspeare alone wrote with such power. Miss C—— asked me how I could have read the Devil's part so well. I replied, that it came very natural to me. Mrs. Dr. B—— told me, that I had made converts of her and some other ladies to my views on gratitude.

"21st. Read my story to Miss —— in the morning. I liked my patriotic little girl still better, after it had been christened by the consecrated waters of sympathy.

"22d. It took me almost the whole day to modify and copy my story. In the evening I brought it and read it again to her and her brothers and sisters, upon whom it had the same effect as upon her.*

* This little story was published in the "Sequel" to the "Well-Spent Hour."

" 26th. Conversation with Gräter about the celebration of Christmas in Germany. In this country, no feasts for the children. Such festivals for the feelings would be a great improvement of the moral state of the nation.

" Argument about universal, infallible preconception; whether it can logically subsist with human liberty. He supposed, I thought, the foresight the cause of the event. But I told him, that the preconception had for its object the event, and could fail, or not fail, only as the event either happened or not. He did not perceive the absolute correlativeness between the infallibility of the event and the infallibility of preconception.

" 27th. In the evening, meeting at Dr. Channing's. Mr. F—— was so kind as to send me his chaise. Subject, — the power of our will over our own happiness. Dr. Channing was unwell. Mr. H. W—— gave some fine illustrations of passages in Scripture, showing that the tendency of Christianity is to make us happy in this life, as well as in that which is to come.

" Dr. Channing thought it of the greatest importance to make those, who are deprived of the comforts of life, acquainted with their infinitely greater treasure in their own breast. I made the distinction between natural and moral happiness, each of them being a true source of happiness. Natural happiness comprises all that good which may be acquired without free exertion. Our gratification from noble as well as low pursuits of our nature, belong to natu-

ral happiness, unless it has cost us an effort. Indulging in innocent pleasures, which the circumstances of prosperity offer, and conquering adversity, are the two sources of the different kinds of happiness. The Stoics recognised only the moral, the Epicureans the natural happiness.

"Dr. Channing thought, the greatest possible energy of all our powers, moral courage in particular, the corner-stone of our happiness. This is certainly the true ground and measure of our happiness. I rejoiced in hearing thus the deepest result of my thinking acknowledged, yet, as far as I see, not yet pursued to all its consequences. The question, whether duty is to be performed for the sake of duty or for happiness, was started, but not answered.

"On the whole, the discussion was very preparatory. Judge D—— requested me to give, next time, the views of the Stoics. After the meeting I went to Mrs. ——'s party. Beautiful dancing of Miss ——.

28th. I was writing on my grammar. In the evening I went to Dr. H——'s and to Mr. N——'s, where I found Mr. F——. Conversation on war. Mr. F—— defended it as a means of Providence. War stands on the same ground with the exercise of force in general. Society is constantly at war with transgressors of the laws.

"29th. Evening at Miss ——'s. In the day I wrote on the German Grammar.

"30th. Dr. C—— too unwell to preach. I went to Mr. G——'s. In going to church I talked

with Gräter on the manner, in which we have to represent to our conscious mind, that influence which we call inspiration. All physical objects are conceived by us through impressions upon our senses. All nature, and all the doings of men, become a collection of signs, a language for us. But the pure acts of our minds speak to us without this mediation of our senses. They are themselves a language to us. The mind seems constantly acting as before a mirror, else it would be impossible to explain the concomitant consciousness of all intellectual functions. God gives us thoughts where we need them. His thoughts are communicated to us as such. They speak to us. This is one phenomenon of inspiration. The general invigoration of our mind through direct influence is a more common phenomenon, and the communication of miraculous power the rarest of all these gifts of the inspiring mind of God. Gräter thinks, that our union with God consists in our consciousness obtaining another centre than our own self. We are conscious of God, or rather God is conscious of himself in us. But this annihilation of our own self seems to be founded on a mistake, common to all pantheistic mysticism.

" In the evening, went to see Dr. C——, where I met Mr. J. P——. Dr. C—— unwell and low-spirited ; but, as the conversation became interesting to him, his genius revived in its full power. He asked me my idea about God. Mr. P—— said, that he knew of the character of God, only so much, that he wills our happiness. I agreed, that this was the

most important conception of his relation to us. Creative Power, Providence, and Design to make us happy, are his essential attributes. I believe him an intelligent and feeling Being, and desiring our happiness. He feels; therefore, he is pleased or displeased by our actions, as they either correspond or disagree with his desire of our happiness. Only that which is the characteristic of that rank of existence, which we occupy among created beings, cannot be made a characteristic of the Deity, namely, that we arrive at a higher degree of perfection only by self-exertion. Therefore I consider the Deity as a personal Being, though I cannot ascribe to him the attribute of human virtue.

"I censured, in Unitarian preaching, the want of regard to those tender and exalted feelings of piety, which many Orthodox combine with their erroneous notions. According to the natural attempt of men, to bring an idea home to themselves, by interpreting it in a manner in which they can comprehend it, they express their conception of things beyond their reason, by notions contrary to their reason, as the trinity, &c. But, in a rude state of religious cultivation, these irrational ideas have the merit of preserving the idea of things beyond our reason. They approved of these observations.

"I spent the evening with Dr. Channing. I translated from Degerando into English. Speaking of Socrates, he remarked, that the intellectual cultivation among the Athenians must have been much higher than among us, where if a man should, like Socra-

tes, go about to instruct his fellow citizens, whoever went to hear him would be laughed at.

"We talked upon the principle of happiness. I told him, I thought happiness the feeling, which expresses the agreement of the state of our existence with our natural tendency. What does that consist in? Its next object, which implies every other, is the most perfect use of all our faculties, — the greatest possible activity. 'What if a man should find the greatest sphere of his activity in destroying, if, by destroying, he should acquire new means of destroying?'

"I replied, if there were such a chance for infinite activity in destroying, he would feel happy; and, as far as he finds room for activity in destroying, he is happy, else he would cease to act in this way. And, as far as his activity and exertion are concerned, in the vigorous creation and use of means, we justly admire him (take a Napoleon or a Cæsar). But, as to his end we condemn him, because his conscience tells him, that there is a higher degree of activity which he has not attained, namely, to conquer his passions, which confine him to a certain limited mode of activity. There is a chance in the universe for endless activity, if it is directed to promote perfection; because this is the law of the universe, which man is destined in part to realize. But a tendency toward imperfection limits itself the more it progresses. He, who destroys a shell, a plant, an animal, a man, deprives himself of an opportunity of exercising his own powers. Take, for instance, the

intemperate man; he destroys the means of his activity; so the uncharitable man, and the oppressor. There seems to be an extent of power in oppression, but in reality it is a limitation; for the influence upon free beings is much more perfect. The atheist in his pride is more imperfect than the most rude and confined worshipper of the Deity; for the former wants essentially that deepest and greatest effort of the mind, of which the other possesses, at least, a degree.

"The most general characteristic of mind is *activity*. Life is the manifestation of mind in the body; death is cessation of action. Sleep and rest are grateful only in as far as they contribute to new and greater activity. Tendency is activity, which is restrained from a full vent by an obstacle. Desire is tendency with consciousness and feeling. The feeling of pleasure and pain, happiness and unhappiness, are emotions, which express the suitableness or inadequacy of the state we are in, to that state to which we tend or desire. It is very important to consider, that our desire itself is a source of happiness; its own existence implies a degree of satisfaction, and is consequently in part its own object. Our desire, sometimes, includes all our happiness, when death has robbed us of its object.

"January 6th. Attended worship here in Cambridge all day. One remark of Dr. Ware struck me as relating to the principal subject of my thoughts. He spoke of that property of our nature, by which man's happiness ends where his activity ceases.

"In the evening went to Mr. N——'s. He and

Mrs. N—— praised my story of the 'German Girl,' and made me promise, if I wrote another, to read it to them. Miss C—— had read it to them.

"7th. I had a dream, as in childhood. I watched a chrysalis. I soon saw a *nachtpfauenauge*,* which had come out of it. It seemed to have been there unperceived for some time, and it pained me to think that it was near dying for want of food. I soon saw in the place of it a beautiful *distelfink*† on my chamber floor, which ran right into the fire on the hearth, and out of it again, and, though its wing touched a burning coal as it came out of the fire, it was not burned at all.

"In the evening I went to Mr. Folsom's. They like Wordsworth. They made me acquainted with a poem, by Halleck, an American, which showed a power of contrasting and mixing sublimity and humor, and a universality of judgment in comprehending the greatness and beauty in feudal times, as well as of that of republicanism. His 'Connecticut.'

"Man exhibits a specimen of a power, which is able to produce effects, not only various, but opposed to one another. Every human being desires the perpetual identity, and most various and harmonious activity of himself.

"8th. In the evening I went to see Dr. C——. Miss C—— had read to him and Mrs. ——, my story of the 'German Girl,' and they both expressed satisfaction. He advised me to read Miss Edgeworth, — on account of her pure, familiar style.

* A beautiful kind of butterfly. † A green finch.

"9th. Went to visit Miss C——. Told her of my plan to induce Mr. H. Sedgwick to undertake to write a Practical Law Catechism, to be introduced in all public schools. After, and with, religious education, that in law is most important; and, as it will put every one in possession of the knowledge of his rights and duties, it will, by degrees, take the people out of the hands of the lawyers, and prepare improvement in legislation. To judge from Mr. Sedgwick's pamphlet on the English Practice, and his great interest in education, and his capacity for easy and interesting productions, he is eminently qualified. At the same time, as school-books are very profitable, this book would give our friend, who has lost his eyesight, a convenient aid to his support.

"10th. I read to Professor Channing in the morning, who was so kind as to offer his assistance in pronunciation. I pronounce the *r* too strong in such words as *power*, *matter*, &c. In the evening I spoke with Mr. Sedgwick about the book. It should contain nothing but positive law, and not law of reason, on account of its different interpretation. It would be best to divide the book into historical and dogmatical parts. The first giving an account of the history of the common law, the Roman law, and the American law. The dogmatical part should give the civil, penal, and political law of the country; merely pointing out that which actually exists, without any additional reasoning. He said, that the dogmatical part would not be the same in every part of the country, except the laws of the Union. But he thought

my proposition, with respect to these, very important; and he would think of it. He thought himself qualified for the undertaking, as he felt conscious of his not being enchanted with the technicalities of the law, but that his whole mind was directed to make every thing clear to every one. I told him the best way would be to adopt the method of Jeremy Bentham, in his work on legislation, laying down one comprehensive rule after another, and illustrating it by at least one appropriate example. I warned him, with respect to positive law, as well as to every kind of historical writing, against that weakness of our time, that no one possesses sufficient self-denial to write a history, without in part making it by mixing constantly his own opinions with the representation of facts. No true history has been written.

"With respect to the historical part, he thought the history of the Roman law of little importance in this country, as this law prevails only in the marine courts. It follows of course, from the restriction of my plan to a mere representation of the laws of the United States, that the history of the common law is of less importance to the work, though I should still think it important, as, though differently modified in each State, it is the common basis of the law of each. The history of American legislation is of the greatest importance. Mr. Sedgwick thought it might be well to annex to the general part of the schoolbook, in each of the most important States, a representation of the most essential principles of law in each of these. He spoke of the extent to which the

lawyers in this country have the people completely in their power; that, if he had not refused the offers of a part of the result of the suit as unfair, he should be worth many hundred thousands; that Mr. —— grows rich by accepting such offers.

"11th. Mrs. ——'s tea party; very splendid. O! what real happiness might be produced by the expenses of one such evening, which evidently gives so little to the persons who partake in it! The dancing is a poor enjoyment in these parties, mere show; while they are scarcely able to turn about in these crowded rooms. Why not engage one of the public halls, if you want dancing? I am told that, even in the largest houses, such parties cause a disorder in the house, which requires a week's repair.

"16th. In the evening I met Mr. Dewey at Dr. Channing's. We had a long conversation; I was joyfully surprised to hear him advocate the great principle, which Fries lately revived in Germany, and which I defended in Rhode Island, and afterward at Dr. Channing's house; that the duty of every human being consists in exertion to acquire a conviction of the truth, and to act accordingly.

"17th. Reading party at Miss S——'s. Mr. Adams read some passages from 'Paradise Regained'; the temptation of Christ. The description of the storm, and the calmness of the Saviour, is beautiful; so is the description of Athens by the tempter, who says by far better things than the Son of God. A particularly unbecoming passage is that where Jesus speaks of book learning.

"18th. Every human being tends to perpetual, most various, and harmonious self-activity.

"In former times, I have been very desirous of conversing on the last metaphysical truths; but I am now convinced of the truth of the opinion of Plato, that this information suits those only, who are already familiar with the subject, and really desirous of finding the common foundation of all knowledge. Others become, through such information, as Plato observed, either filled with undeserved contempt toward the deepest science, or inflated with the belief that they know something exceedingly curious and extraordinary.

"I have found that I can do much more good by endeavouring to convince people of certain consequences of the above stated principle, than by leading them on to the metaphysical speculations, from which these consequences are derived.

"19th. Passed the evening at Miss C——'s. She agrees with me in the belief that our own inspired reason is the only right foundation of our belief in the Bible, and the only true test of what is rational and inspired in it.

"20th. Judge Howe of Northampton died last night, in Boston; a fair-minded, warm-hearted, indefatigable, and enlightened man, an intimate friend of Miss C—— and Miss S——.

"In the evening Mr. Dewey preached the lecture, upon the nature of religion; he said, 'Religion is to be explained, as the suitableness of all our actions, feelings, and thoughts, to the exigencies of life. In

business it is uprightness; in pleasure it is innoc ence and temperance.' Very true as far as it goes. Religion, indeed, enters into every thing; it is in every concern of ours, that which is infinite and renders it infinite; in joy and in exertion, in duty and in works of genius. This is the secret truth which is expressed in the endeavours of men to treat all that is spiritual as something foreign, and even averse, to worldly concerns. The expression of this feeling is wrong, or at least paradoxical; it is used in the Bible to rescue the highest interests of man from all the engrossing cares and pleasures of the world.

Passed the night at Professor Ticknor's.

"21st. In the morning I rode out with Professor Ticknor, who told me that he had written to Mr. ——, who was going to Germany, that, whenever they should ask about me, or Beck, or Lieber, he might tell them that we are esteemed and beloved by all.

"22d. In the evening I went to see Miss C——. She told me of the last moments of Judge Howe. For some time in a severe struggle, in which, not only his body seemed to suffer, but his spirit to sigh for deliverance. Three hours before his death, perfect calmness. Disclosing his will to Judge Lyman; settling all his worldly concerns. Addressing his friends, then present; mentioning all that was pleasant, in these, his last moments. His being in the house of friends; the arrival of his little son. Addressing each of the present friends. Speaking of his own

success in his office as Judge; that he repented of no decision he had ever made. That he had sometimes gone to court undecided, and diffident of his own powers; praying earnestly for assistance from above. That he had always felt, at the right moment, an uncommon power and clearness, not his own; beyond it; and so on all occasions. While he was speaking, he at intervals prayed for confidence in his own powers, to address his friends. He most fervently recommended to them charity, charity to all. When his breath failed, he would lisp, 'Charity.'

"He said, that if he had lived longer, his purpose was, to cultivate his intellect still more. He spoke of his domestic happiness; advised one of his friends, who was present, to marry in order to be happy. Spoke of the devotedness of his wife. He alluded to a dream he had had some short time before. He stood on the piazza of his house, enjoying the sunny prospect; a mist arose and covered the sun. Then, after some time, a beautiful sunset.

"He now mentioned to his wife, that he had had a presentiment of that moment. His wife spoke of the beautiful sunset he then witnessed. 'And all, all the mists are gone,' he replied, and fell asleep. After some time, a slight twitching of the muscles of his face marked the departure of his spirit.

"The next morning Dr. Channing went and prayed with his wife. She spoke of the treasure she possessed in the example of her husband, in the education of her children. She wrote down her recollec-

tions of his decease. This death, indeed, preaches what a whole life is not sufficient to express.

"23d. Gräter. The music, which the flame in my chimney makes, beating against the half-vaulted walls, which spread the sound, like a sounding-board, through the room. It reverberates on the windows and looking-glass, particularly in cold, clear weather.

"24th. Went to Mr. Ware's Introductory Lecture to a Course on Palestine. The whole very impressive and happy. Only there seemed to be some eloquent partiality, in his account of the merits of the Greeks, which he first highly extolled, and then undervalued, when comparing what we owed them to what we owed to Judea. What would become of Christianity itself, if classic learning had not matured a better judgment and taste, to find out the pure gold under the muddy waves of superstition and priestcraft. Dr. Channing, to whom I gave an account of the lecture, the same evening, observed, that there is a striking difference between that which we owe to the Jews and what we owe to the Greeks. The latter benefited the world by their own exertions, while the former were passive recipients of divine light, even with reluctance; so that we are very little indebted to the Jews themselves, for the light which we have derived from them. This is a strong argument in favor of the divine origin of the religion of the Bible. It seems to me, that the exclusiveness and obstinacy of the Jews, the most prominent feature in their national character, fitted them particularly for keeping up the knowledge of one God, among the idolatrous nations of the world.

" The Bible, particularly the New Testament, is of universal character. The simple, fundamental truths it contains, are more suited to a European conception ; and the style, the figures, the whole tone, bear the Eastern character.

" 25th. Party at Mrs. F——'s. The Governor and his lady there. When every one was searching for his hat, the Governor mistook Mr. Pickering's for his ; and Mr. Pickering said, ' I wish my hat might suit your head, Sir.' The Governor answered, ' I wish your head were under my hat, Sir.'

" 29th. Meeting for Education at Dr. Channing's. Separate religious instruction for children. No result. I mentioned the fact, that children are more interested in the Catholic, than in the Protestant religion ; that, in the actual state of society, the best means would be partly to connect the service with the Sunday School ; and, the other part of the day, let them go with their parents. This part of the day ought to be fixed beforehand ; and then the sermon such as would be adapted to children, as well as grown people.

" Social worship for children. Questioned as to its usefulness ; particularly the prayer, where the minister addresses the highest Being. In the afternoon, reading with Professor Channing.

" 30th. I translated in the evening, to Dr. Channing, that which Tennemann, in his ' History of Philosophy,' says about the secret philosophy of Plato. He then made me read a chapter in Rasselas ; the

subject immortality ; particularly the negative proofs. Thought has no extension, no past ; can, therefore, not be dissolved ; death is dissolution.

" February 4th. Visit to Dr. Channing in the evening. He made me read a letter of Burke concerning the French Revolution, preaching a crusade against the revolutionary principle; the same doctrine which now the Holy Alliance acts upon. Conversation about the Revolution.

" The aristocracy in Boston is to be considered a progress from the rude ascendency of money, from which it is derived, and is still, in many cases, recruited. It is now, chiefly, an aristocracy of manners. Talent, wealth, and moral habits are acknowledged as forming respectability, if they are united with good manners and courtesy. This aristocracy may, indeed, be made the means of perfecting the system of democracy, a natural, political, and spiritual democracy ; the true kingdom of God and humanity. But as yet this distinction works a great deal of mischief; and we need a fiery rain of reason and inspiration to consume these unnatural relations among men.

" 8th. In the evening I read with Miss C—— and Miss D——.

" 9th. Dined at Dr. Channing's with Miss Savage. Gave them a description of the life of the students at Jena.

" 11th. In the evening I finished reading to Dr. Channing the letter of Mr. Burke. Burke asserts, that the whole revolution and republicanism in France

were only a means of conquering and ruling in Europe, the whole stirred up by dissatisfied, ambitious statesmen. But we look in vain for proofs. He seems to be utterly void of historical sense, and regardless of truth where party spirit blinds him.

"12th. Meeting for Education at Dr. Channing's. Subject, public prayer; general, and for children in particular. We agreed, that, one part of the day, the children might go with their parents to meeting; and, for the other part, their religious exercise should be connected with their Sunday School.

"15th. Visit to Dr. Channing in the evening. He had just read the Introduction of Cousin to 'Gorgias.' His idea is, that crime and punishment are eternally connected in the nature and conscience of the transgressor, that this is the ground of punishment, and not a view to deter others, or to correct the guilty; although these two are good consequences of the punishment. Punishment, a benefit to the culprit, to be reconciled to himself, and to reënter the society of the just. I said to Dr. Channing, that this idea does not settle the matter; for it does not afford a scale of punishment, except retaliation, which is in many cases absurd. That the idea of deterring others would be best carried on by the laws of Draco, "*Omnium delictorum una pœna.*" That correcting the individual to refit him for society, in as far as he had shown himself unfit for it, is the only true ground for punishment. Threatening, and, if threatening does not produce its ends, inflicting so much pain, as society thinks sufficient to repress in

him the desire to injure the rights of others; neither more nor less; and the pain suited to the criminal propensity; crimes against property, in general, to be punished by making him feel the evils arising from such actions to the injured. In the same manner, crimes against the liberty or person of others; ambition, by shame, &c. Nobody to be considered absolutely unfit for reëntering the civil union of the free, unless his criminal propensity has become madness; and then he is no longer a fit subject for the house of correction, but for the hospital.

"Idea of God as a rewarder and punisher. Kant's idea. I explained my idea of the immortality of man's moral nature.

"1st. The liability to temptation to descend to lower degrees of creation.

"2d. The capability of being excited by the views of rising to higher perfection.

"3d. The power of choosing between these two possible directions of our faculties; free agency, power of exertion, of indulgence.

"Dr. Channing spoke of the language of the New Testament, which seemed to favor those views of rewards and punishment. I thought that they were all that was necessary and good for those times, to know that the wicked shall not triumph, but fall, and the good shall rise in the end; to counteract the injustice prevailing in society. Further views belonged to those which they were not able to bear, the destination of punishment and reward.

"Our life will appear in a sum; the whole use

that we have made of the talent given to us; and we shall be put in the corresponding condition. One particular feature of a future life will be, that all those states of our being, in which we are not, or not quite responsible, as sickness, &c., will give way to a state of perfect and continued responsibility. I read a part of the Bible (Samuel) aloud.

"16th. Began to write a Prospectus for the 'Teacher's Manual.'

"In the evening I carried my additions and alterations of Mr. Russell's Prospectus to Miss C——. She was pleased. I explained my views with respect to chance making a part of our destination. Chance necessary for forming a character by free exertion. Trust in God, that this chance itself is calculated upon as a means of our destination in the laws of the universe. No particular chance, therefore, can impair man's destiny. My opinion is by no means, that cases of special Providence may not occur. I believe in miracles; but they are exceptions. Most of the influences, from the circumstances, upon our minds, are accidental, not intentionally sent by God. Without this opinion, of chance being a part of God's general providence in regard to man, we should be obliged to accuse him of injustice and whimsical use of power, as far as we may and must judge by our own faculties. I remembered, on going home, an old thought of mine concerning the scale of objects of man's perception.

"1st. Matter, object of the senses, indicating mind, yet without intentionally addressing or affecting man through these objects of his sensation.

"2dly. Human minds intentionally operating upon the perceiving intellect; partly by means of matter, other persons; and partly immediately, man's own mind, known to him through self-consciousness.

"3dly. Influence of the Divine on the human mind, partly immediate, without material means, and partly by such events as we feel obliged to ascribe to the special direction of God.

"The principle, that God judgeth not as men do, ought to be taken in the sense, that his justice is perfect, adequate to merit and desert, and without regard to persons; while our justice is imperfect, although we have an idea of what perfect justice consists in, (by which idea we also perceive the imperfection of our own justice.) But that principle may be, and has been, taken in another sense, that God's justice might order things in a manner which we should call injustice. This is the doctrine of election and original sin. This is, in plain language, that God's justice is less perfect than ours. Why use the terms justice and injustice in both cases, if you must confess, that actions, which you would acknowledge unjust for man, could be just if done by God?

"18th. I read this evening a pamphlet by William Roscoe, a brief statement of the causes which have led to the abandonment of the celebrated penitentiary system. I wish to see two societies formed, one for visiting the convicts while in prison, where they ought not to be allowed to converse with each other, and another for giving employment to convicts after their release. For foreign mechanics coming

to Boston, there should also be a society for the purpose of finding out opportunities of employment. This would relieve such persons as Hegel, the tin-plater, in Boston, and Heyer, the leather-dresser, at the Port.

"19th. Went with the Miss C——s and Miss D—— to see the Statue of Washington; the hand rather large for the shortness of the left arm.

"I hope I have succeeded, at last, in a full expression of the principle of morality. Every human being tends toward the perpetual identity of its own self, and the greatest possible harmony and variety in its mode of existence. Self is the essence of man,—that which distinguishes his being from all other beings, bodily, vegetative, animal, and mental self. Man passes through all the modes of existence we know of, and tends in every one of them to preserve the identity of the essence of his being,—his own self. The original tendency of man, then, has for its object, on one hand, partly the essence of his being, and partly the mode of his existence. For the first, he requires (to be satisfied) perpetual identity; and for the latter, the greatest possible harmony and variety.

"As to the mode of human existence, and existence in general, it is partly active, and partly receptive. If there is a fault in the above definition, it seems to be in the epithet *harmony*. The necessary harmony consists in the immutability of the essence of our being. The harmony, in the mode of its existence, is important, only, as a means of the great-

est possible variety. What is the object of the natural tendency of every human being? It has for its object, invariableness of its essence, and the greatest possible variety in the mode of its existence.

"20th. During the day I read Blumenbach's treatise, 'Ueber den Bildungstriebe,' of which he made a present to our library. I made an extract from it.

"21st. Mr. ——'s lecture. Mr. —— has divested himself of almost all the quaintness, which so frequently adheres to the language of ministers. One expression only, he uses too frequently, 'when the fulness of time should come.'

"22d. I spent the evening partly at Miss C——'s, and partly at Dr. Channing's. I read from Ledyard's travels under Captain Cook. Dr. Channing was delighted with a Review of German Philosophy, in the 'Edinburgh Review.' He will study German.

"23d. Mrs. —— invited me to meet some friends; — a pleasant evening. Mrs. —— said, she thought Dr. Channing inclined to mysticism. I remarked, the difference between the character of Plato and Aristotle is perceptible in all the history of philosophy; some are more Platonic, others more Aristotelic philosophers. Channing's is a Platonic mind. She wanted me to publish an account of German metaphysics. I slept at Mr. Tarbell's.

"24th. Conversation with Mrs. T——, in the morning, about a future state. Heaven and hell are relative ideas; the degree of happiness and misery adapted to our good or ill desert; not two separate states without a medium. Possibility of infinite pro-

gress. Men will be born in that state in a future life, in which they leave this. Perpetual chance of rising or falling. Those, who sink themselves in this life, through sin, will increase by that means the difficulty, which they have to surmount in the next, in order to obtain happiness; as you descend low, you will have to rise high. The least in the kingdom of heaven, Sidon and Tyre, comparatively happier than Capernaum, according to their fewer advantages. If angels may fall, angels may rise.

"Mrs. T—— asked, whether people would not lose an important motive for being good, if they were told that they had in a future life another chance? The Old Testament was efficient even with that imperfect retribution, which exists in this life. Human nature will seek out another and a worse remedy, — the doctrine of being undeservedly saved by grace, however wicked we may be; and the doctrine, that man shall be happy according to his deeds, is cried down as presumptuous. They expect reformation through the act of another being, — a lightning from Heaven; moral regeneration.

"Visit in the evening at Dr. H——'s. I asked him, if it might not be better for this college to abandon the elementary teaching, which is done in other colleges, and make it a national university? But the means which the institution itself furnishes, the small salaries which they now give, can attract or retain eminent talents only by making this place a free harbour of learning and literature, as in German universities. It is enough to keep a teacher indepen-

dent of temporary applause; but, on the other hand, makes the increase of his means dependent on his own exertions.

"26th. I have been engaged several days in looking at the different commentators of the New Testament, with regard to Matthew ix. 14; Luke v. 33; Mark ii. 18, &c. I am struck with the ingenuity of most commentators, in finding in these simple passages, another sense than they actually possess, although no sectarian views had any direct influence upon their interpretation. The inclination merely to ascribe too much authority to the rites of the Old Testament, and to austere habits, seems to have influenced some commentators to deviate from sound sense and taste.

"Conversation with Gräter in the morning. Plato among the ancient, and Kant among the modern philosophers, have introduced that mode of reasoning, which asserts the same idea, in one relation, and rejects it in another; a quality is ascribed to a thing, considered by itself, and denied when it is considered in its connexion with the universe. Thus, free agency is ascribed to man in a practical point of view, considering him as a being by himself; but it is denied, when he is considered as a part of the universe, in its absolute dependence on the Deity. This manner of asserting and denying the same thing, in two different points of view, is grounded either on a vague manner of expressing one's ideas, or it is entirely illogical. One may indeed affirm that man is mortal, and that he is, also, immortal. But if another contradicts either of these statements, or wishes him to state distinctly his

assertion, and to define his idea, he will have to say, the human mind, or the essence of the human nature, is immortal; and the human body, or the temporal mode of man's existence, is mortal. This shows that it was really not the same object, to which he ascribed and denied a certain quality, but two different objects. After having thus defined his ideas, he cannot ascribe to the same object a quality, and at the same time deny it.

"It is the same case with the abovementioned mode of reasoning, which Hegel seems to have carried to perfection, in asserting, that 'to be,' and 'not to be' are essentially the same thing. If we take the example of man's free agency, we of course must first exactly define what we mean by it. The test of the definition of this power is the possibility, or impossibility, of its effects being foreknown.

"The being of God is characterized by the immutability of its essence, united with the greatest possible harmony and variety of its existence. The destiny of man is contained in the original tendency of his being to the immortality of its essence, (i. e. the whole of his original faculties,) and the greatest possible harmony and variety in its mode of existence, of which human nature is capable. His existence is made up of his own efficiency, and of impressions from other things, — efficiency and impressibility. The same characteristics belong to the human as to the Divine nature; but, 1st, limited to its capacity; 2d, existing only in capacity and tendency, without the means of realizing it, except by the assistance of other beings."

CHAPTER XI.

Dr. Follen is admitted as a Candidate for the Ministry. — Commences Preaching. — He is appointed Teacher in the Divinity School, in Cambridge. — His Marriage. — He is naturalized. — The Birth of his Son. — Letter to his Father.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Follen did not continue his journal. But the evidence, which this record of a few months gives of the constant devotion of his mind to the highest subjects of thought, of that perpetual search after truth, which gave a fresh interest and value to every day of his life as it passed, and extracted a blessing from every event, even from the otherwise trivial concerns of life, — this it is that makes these pages from his own hand so precious, and must give a value and interest to details otherwise very insignificant.

One other circumstance he mentions in his journal, and concludes with it; it is our engagement, — "when," he says, "we met as friends, for time and for eternity." The lady to whom he had pledged his affections had written to him, that her love for him did not warrant her in sacrificing her country and friends for his sake. Although her letters had been few and unsatisfactory, yet he would not allow him-

self to doubt her love, and the blow was unexpected. He says, in speaking of her decision, "I shrink from the task of describing my feelings, since that time. What I loved in her, I still love, and shall love for ever. I supposed it to be in her, nay, one with her; yet all I demanded of her, was truth. She has been true to herself and to me, in saying that she did not love me. May the God of truth reward her. May every cloud of grief, which rises from my heart, be turned into showers of blessings upon her innocent head."

From this time he devoted himself with new energy to writing sermons, but most particularly to the one upon Immortality, which he intended to read before the Association, when he should offer himself as a candidate for the ministry.

On the 28th of July, 1828, Dr. Follen was regularly admitted as a candidate for the ministry. His discourse before the meeting of the Boston Association, upon that occasion, is placed first in the volume of sermons, in the present collection of his works. The Sunday afterwards, he preached for the Rev. Mr. Greenwood; and he immediately received an invitation to supply the desk at Nahant, for three or four Sundays, during his College vacation.

At the commencement of his profession, his greatest fears were in relation to his devotional exercises. He said he could not write a prayer; he could not repeat a prayer from memory; he could not utter set phrases; he must pray, or be silent. "If," said he, "prayer is in my heart, I shall pray; if not, I

shall be silent. I will not speak words in the pulpit, without meaning." "What shall you do," I asked, "if you should find you are not in the spirit of prayer?" "I shall be silent; and I fear it may be so." It was on that account, that he was glad to preach first at the Stone Chapel, where they used a form of prayer.

The next time he went into the pulpit, he felt no difficulty, except for satisfactory words; his heart was full to overflowing. He has often said, that nothing inspired him so much, as the sight of a great many human faces. Never, through all his ministry, did he depart from his solemn purpose, not to utter mere words for prayer. He always prayed, and, when he had nothing more in his heart to say, he was silent. Occasionally, after he had been preaching, he would write down the prayer he had uttered, when it happened to remain in his memory. Some of these prayers, which he never made any use of, may be found at the end of this volume. This practice he continued but for a short time.

Dr. Follen was not at first a popular preacher. He was a spendthrift of his mind. He would put thought enough into one sermon, to have served many a popular preacher for materials for a dozen discourses. He was called metaphysical and abstract, and it was, perhaps, a general complaint, that it was too hard work to follow his train of reasoning. He had none of the arts and contrivances to catch attention, or to make a little thought go a great way. He poured out from his abundance; he gave liberally what he

had, and never asked what any one thought of the giver. People sometimes said, they were wearied with thinking, after hearing him; and those who did not attempt to follow his reasoning called him dry. Perhaps he was so. I was not a judge; neither was any one of his friends; for the feeling of his sincerity, his purity, his heavenly-mindedness, was so strong, that his words were received by us as were the words of no other man. And there was a force of reasoning, a power in him, that few could resist, who gave him their full attention.

He himself was anxious to hear objections to his preaching; he often said, "It does me the greatest good to have my faults pointed out." And he finally taught me to be his severest critic; for he made me feel that excellence was more than all things to him. The patience and sweetness with which he would listen even to harsh comments upon his preaching, I have never seen equalled. Once, a friend, who had a kind heart, but an arbitrary character, came to see him in order to lecture him about a sermon he had preached. He took him by the button-hole of his coat, — "Your sermon, Sir," said he, "was very sensible; but you spoil your discourses with your views about freedom. We are all wearied of hearing the same thing from you. You always have something about freedom in whatever you say to us. I am sick of hearing about freedom; we have too much freedom. We are all sick of it; don't let us hear any more such sermons from you."

Dr. Follen replied with a quiet smile, and with the

utmost gentleness, "I thank you for your frankness, and am sorry you are not pleased. I will think of what you say." When he was gone, he only said, "He is an honest, kind-hearted man."

It was now the great desire of Dr. Follen's heart to have a home, and gather around him a domestic circle. His salary of five hundred dollars was, of course, totally inadequate; and my share of this world's goods was very small. He therefore made known to his friend, Dr. Bowditch, then President of the Corporation of Harvard College, his determination to seek a parish where he might find an adequate support. Dr. Bowditch opposed this warmly. He told him his learning and talents were wanted in the University, and that they could not spare him. He said to him, that he knew his present place was not what it ought to be, and that he might rely upon it he should be properly provided for. His excellent friend, Mr. Stephen Higginson, was also very desirous to retain Dr. Follen in Cambridge, and, as soon as he knew of his intention of leaving it, he and the other Directors of the Theological School, recommended to the Corporation his appointment as teacher of ethics and ecclesiastical history in the School, with an understanding, that he should be made finally a permanent professor in one of these branches.

The Corporation agreed to this with a modification apparently slight, which, however, was greatly important to Dr. Follen afterwards.

The following documents will best show his exact position in the College.

LETTER FROM MR. S. HIGGINSON.

"*Cambridge, July*, 1828.

"DEAR SIR,

"I enclose a note of the Theological Directors this day. I am requested to learn from you, whether this plan is agreeable to you, and what compensation will be satisfactory. Will six hundred dollars, in addition to what is now received, be sufficient, presuming you will have opportunities to earn three hundred by preaching? A lecture on ethics once a week, and one on ecclesiastical history once a week, is all we should ask in the Theological School, except, that, as one of the faculty, you should take a general oversight, being present, when you are able, at our public exercises. Some instruction in history may also be required by the Corporation to the undergraduates, with a view to a permanent foundation in that branch.

"Yours, S. HIGGINSON."

"At a regular meeting of the Directors of the Theological School, July 23d, 1828,

"Voted unanimously, that, in the opinion of this board, it is highly expedient to retain the services of Dr. Follen as teacher of the German language, and also as teacher of ecclesiastical history and ethics in the School; and that it be recommended to the Corporation to confer on him such appointment as a permanent Professor.

"Attest, JAMES WALKER."

"At a meeting of the Corporation of Harvard College, held on the 21st day of August, 1828,

"The Secretary laid before the Board a communication from the Directors of the Theological School, recommending the appointment of Dr. Charles Follen to be permanent Instructor in Ecclesiastical History and Ethics in the Theological School; which was read, and it was

"Voted, that Dr. Charles Follen be appointed instructor in history and ethics, to deliver such lectures, and give such other instruction, to the Theological Students and to the Undergraduates, as may be prescribed by the Government of the College.

"Voted, that there be allowed him, for the above services, the sum of seven hundred dollars per annum, in addition to the sum of five hundred dollars, allowed him as teacher in German.

"A true copy from the records.

"Attest, F. C. Gray, *Secretary.*"

Dr. Follen was induced to accept this proposal, which imposed upon him such a great amount of labor, with, at the same time, a smaller compensation than other teachers who had less demanded of them, from the assurance, that, very soon, a distinct professorship, with a proper professor's salary, would be given him. Doubtless the friends, who encouraged this hope, and who pledged their own efforts for its accomplishment, felt sure, that the promise would be redeemed. Dr. Follen trusted entirely to it. But it is true, that the yearnings of his heart after the blessings of a home, may have beguiled his judgment into the mistake of leaving any thing questionable upon a

subject so important, as his actual position in the College, and his future prospects there. He loved the College; he hoped to serve it. Although he wished to preach, he did not desire at present to be settled over a parish. He wished to know more of the people first.

In addition to these predilections for an established place in Harvard College, his hopeful, trustful nature made him always believe, that what was right would eventually be. I have often heard him say, "I know that all my faithful study has fitted me for usefulness in Harvard College. I think they will let me work for them, and that I can do them some good." It was not till there was evidently no hope to build upon, that he relinquished this faith.

Dr. Follen was seized, in the spring of this year, with a very severe affection of the throat. Some passages from a letter to a friend, show that he met sickness, as he met the other evils of life, with cheerful, inspiring faith. He says,

"I have had similar attacks, and know how to take care of myself. Besides, there is Mr. Gräter, who has realized your wish that you could transform your solicitude into a good nurse. He has realized it by the magic of friendship, which induced him to take care of me as your heart would have directed him. And where all other means of assistance are wanting, there is that one kind Friend, who thinks of us even when we are not thinking of Him. He is the constant attendant on every sick chamber, the true Priest and best Physician to every believing soul. Therefore,

dismiss your cares, my dear friend; there is no cause for solicitude in the present case; and, if there were any, still there would be a higher cause for discarding all anxiety."

"*Sunday Evening.*

"I am gaining in health every day, and the Doctor has pronounced me decidedly better. I have felt the refreshing influence of the delightful summer air all this day. There are several apple trees in full blossom under my window, which I have watched with increasing delight from the first opening. Spring is penetrating and overspreading every thing with life and lustre; and the white and gray walls, which alone appear without a spring garment, seem to screen themselves under the surrounding verdure. I thank God, that I am well enough to feel this new life, which flows through every vein of creation, and breaks forth in sounds and colors, deep and gay, now in overflowing enthusiasm, and now in silent joy. Yet there is a feeling of sadness, mixed with the liveliest enjoyment of this festal time of nature; its joyous welcome brings with it the anticipation of its early departure. But this very sadness seems to open to our minds a deeper source of happiness; for it makes us conscious, that this new life, which sheds but a transient glory over the realms of nature, has an eternal spring in every loving heart.

"My Grammar, the principal sickness which afflicts me, will not be out till next Saturday; and I have been obliged to correct proofs all this time.

There is but one remedy for colds and Grammar, — patience."

The Grammar, which Dr. Follen speaks of so frequently, has been in constant use in the College from the time of its publication; and I believe, that it is acknowledged, by competent judges, to be the best German Grammar extant. It has passed through many editions, and was a source of pecuniary profit to him.

On the 15th of September, 1828, we were married, and immediately commenced housekeeping in Cambridge. My two unmarried sisters, with whom I was living, were to him as his own, and, at his request, we invited them to make part of our family.

How can I speak of all that he was in the new relation upon which he had now entered? And yet it would be injustice to him to pass over this part of his character in silence. His views of the duties, of the high purposes, of the married state, will be best represented, by his own words, in the following notes for a sermon on the subject, which he preached in New York, but never wrote out.

" 'What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.'

" This shows marriage to be the principal of all relations; for, so soon as it is formed, it takes precedence even of the parental. Marriage is a union of love between one man and one woman, devoting themselves, in strictest intimacy and with exclusive fidelity, to perpetual, mutual improvement.

" Foundation of marriage. Love, i. e., interest in perfection; interest in each other's perfection.

"Object. To preserve and [illegible] their [illegible]cal, moral, and religious perfection.

"The object is evidently a [illegible]. Hence the importance, that the union [illegible] be formed with a view to the whole life of man, [illegible] that which now is, and that which is to come.

"Love, an eternal principle. [illegible] all merely temporal motives are wrong. [illegible] from disappointed love, better than [illegible] mercenary motives.

"Parents are apt to have low motives [illegible] subject. They educate their daughters [illegible] ried, setting love aside. The poor have a great [illegible]vantage. Saying among the French [illegible] comme les pauvres.'

"Religion. 'Alas for those who [illegible] blend in prayer!' It is not [illegible] but the existence of a [illegible] visible; a tendency to the infinite [illegible] each other's religious freedom [illegible] Dangerous to undertake to reform a man [illegible]

"Duties. Mutual respect [illegible] moral nature. The [illegible] respect. The same in [illegible] created man in his own image [illegible] ated he them.' Here the word man [illegible] plies both man and woman.

"'Female mind' and 'female [illegible] as 'female conscience.' The [illegible] change the principal ground of equal [illegible] otherwise it would be a degrading [illegible]

" Equality of the sexes. Equal moral obligations. The Saviour gave the true standard of moral purity in this relation. Shameful partiality of the laws and of the customs of society, and of philosophizing men of the world upon this subject.

" Provident industry a duty of equal obligation. Mutual obedience to each other's superior judgment. Perfect truth. Never laying up unsettled difficulties. No secrets from each other. Patient, hopeful, self-sacrificing devotion to each other's physical, intellectual, moral, and religious welfare. Danger of the daily and family little cares of household duties dimming the sense of the great object of married life.

" Their final separation, at first sight a source of unmixed suffering, and reunion of perfect joy. Yet the prospect of separation is calculated to make the joy, which naturally attends a union of heart, perfect, by giving it a moral character; and, on the other hand, reunion can be looked forward to as a blessing only in connexion with moral progress, without which it must turn into a source of pain.

" The thought of separation is calculated to heighten our joy by spiritualizing our affections. Reunion must depend on the strength of present affection. It may be a source of pain or joy, according to our deserts.

" One advances, the other remains behind. A man may look upon the years he survives his friend, as a means of rendering himself more worthy of a reunion. Preparation for separation is the same as preparation for reunion. The same effort necessary for both.

"The union between Simon Marechal and his wife was a true union. They were condemned to death on account of their religious opinions. When they approached the flames, which were to consume them both, she turned to her husband, and said to him, 'Dear husband! our marriage has hitherto been but an engagement. This is our true wedding-day, when, after this trifling torment, the Son of God will marry us for eternity!'

"Grounds of dissolution of marriage. The tendency to mutual improvement is the foundation, the tendency to mutual degradation is the destruction, of marriage. It is the moral destruction of it, whether the law keep it up by coercion or not. If the sinful tendency leaves room for hope, the separation should be temporary only; if there is no reasonable hope of amendment, it should be permanent. The two solemn and affecting thoughts, separation by death and reunion in the life to come, form the painful expectation and the inspiring hope of every human friendship, every bond of affection, in this world."

These were Dr. Follen's views of the duties and purposes of this connexion. All who knew him, would bear witness, that his life was ever a faithful transcript of his opinions. But none but those who lived in the strictest intimacy with him, could know how true he was to his own principles; how he hallowed the meanest occupations, and gave a sanctity and grace to what might be called the drudgery of life, by the love and patience, with which he performed every such labor. None but those who were the

objects of his unfailing love, could appreciate the sweetness and fidelity, with which he ministered to the most insignificant, as well as the highest, wants of all who were dependent upon him.

Dr. Follen soon became deeply engaged in his new duties in the University. He immediately commenced a systematic course of ethics in the Divinity School. His method was to give the class a subject, upon which each one was to write his views, and then give them to him to criticize. These essays he carefully read; and, after pointing out to the writer all that he found objectionable in his style, his mode of reasoning, or his judgment, and freely praising all that he approved of, he took up the subject himself, and treated it in the most comprehensive, masterly manner, that he was capable of. In giving his own views, he was always careful to avoid dogmatism, and to show, that on those great questions, he considered himself still a learner with his pupils, only in, perhaps, an advanced class. Dr. Follen found great pleasure in this occupation; all his previous studies, even from his boyhood, had eminently fitted him for it. The nature and destiny of the human mind, and the foundations of moral obligation, were subjects of the deepest interest to him; and his mind was ever at work upon them. He used often to say, "I feel as if this was my true element." It is needless to say, that his instructions were highly valued by the students. I believe that there is not one of the young men, who were in the Divinity School at that time, who would not be eager to con-

fess their deep obligations to him. But, had they seen him at the end of a day of toil in teaching German, with his pile of themes before him on his study table, reading one of them after another with the same interest and pleasure as if the subject were new to him, and he unwearied, saying only now and then, "I am really pleased with my young men," — then they would have witnessed how truly he made all his duties labors of love.

These duties were indeed arduous. He taught German for three days in the week; he delivered an ethical lecture once a week in the School, and a lecture on history once a week to the undergraduates. He preached on Sunday whenever he was invited, which was very often; this made it necessary to write sermons; and add to this, he had accepted an invitation from the Teachers of a Sunday School, just established in Cambridge, to be their Superintendent. As it was the commencement of the school, he was anxious to make it all that a Sunday School ought to be. He invited all the Teachers to meet once a fortnight at his house, in which the subject of religious instruction was discussed with a freedom and earnestness, that made these meetings very profitable, as well as interesting. The delicate courtesy of his manners, his thoughtful kindness, that led him to notice those whom others passed over, his real respect for all, and his frank exposition of his own views, inspired all who were present with such confidence, that there was, at these meetings, a very general and free expression of opinion, and a great deal of intelligent and easy conversation.

In addition to these various occupations, his mind was at work on a subject, upon which he had long wished to give his ideas fully and distinctly. It was in the course of this and the following year, that he matured and expressed his views upon the future state, which were published in three separate numbers in the "Christian Examiner," of January, March, and June, 1830. During this period, he also wrote a review of Mr. Bancroft's translation of Heeren's "History of the States of Antiquity." This was published in the "American Quarterly Review," of March, 1829.

The following letters to his father show his happy state of mind at this time.

"*Cambridge, 24th August*, 1829.

"My dear Parents, Brothers, and Sisters,

"I hope that one or another of my letters, which I have sent to you by different travellers, has given you an account of my situation here. I feel myself happier than ever before. Freedom without, and the joy of love and peaceful life at home, — what is wanting to my felicity, but the presence of my dear family in the distance and far away? O let our spirits turn away from what separates us; the reality of separation is only a dead letter; the thought that this is so is heart-consoling; let us live in that which unites us for time and eternity, — in the quiet, firm consciousness of mutual love.

"I know not whether I have given you any description in my letters of my daily life. I rise every

morning at five or six o'clock, and pass the first hours of the day in my study. At seven, my wife calls me to breakfast, which we take with her two unmarried sisters, who live in our house with us. After breakfast we have, according to the custom of the country, our family worship; that is, I read a passage from the Bible. We seek to explain what difficulties present themselves, and to comprehend what is most important, and then I speak a short prayer, without form, as the Spirit moves me. During the family worship the servants come into the room, and take part in it.

"At eight o'clock I go, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, to the College, and give instruction in German six hours daily. I have about sixty scholars in German. On the three other days, I give lectures on History in the College, and on Ethics in the Theological School. Friday evening, I have an exercise with the Theological Students, in extempore preaching, and, on Saturday and Sunday evenings, I attend, with the other members of the Theological Faculty, the regular exercises in preaching. We have for this an appropriate chapel. Each of the theological students of the two upper classes preaches in turn. The service begins with prayer; then the preacher reads a chapter from the Bible; then a hymn is sung; then the sermon, which concludes with prayer. Each member then makes his remarks upon the exercise, which I have to begin, as the youngest of the members.

"On Sunday, each family goes regularly twice to

the church. I preach frequently here or in Boston, or the neighbourhood. The English is now so easy to me, that I have often preached extemporaneously, and never write down my prayers beforehand.

"You see by this, dear father, that I have not entirely departed from your ways, in regard to laboring in my vocation. You must know, moreover, that

> Im Klötzespalten werd ich stets dir weichen;
> Im Sägen aber such' ich meinesgleichen.
>
> In splitting of knots I will always yield to you;
> In sawing, however, I acknowledge no equal.

I owe to this, my constant occupation, my firm health; and, as you see, a certain facility and skill in doggerel and double rhymes. For the rest I produce more realities here than poems, — probably, because my boldest European poems are here realities.

"My income gives me exactly enough to live on, and, in a few years, we may be in a situation to lay up something. The expenses of our first housekeeping are now finished, and we are entirely free from debt. The most considerable charge is the procuring of books, without which I can no longer get on. The most difficult thing in my position, is the necessity of giving instruction at once in three quite different branches, — German, History, and Moral Philosophy. The cause of this is the want of higher educational institutions in this country, while the common schools are far better than in Germany. Learning is yet in embryo, but has made, however, already rapid advances towards actual existence. I have reason to hope

that in a year I may attend exclusively to one branch of instruction, or I will seek the situation of a clergyman here or in Boston; in which case I might possibly give lectures on philosophical or historical subjects. I have not relinquished, at all, the civil and natural law, but hope to find opportunity, in time, to repeat my lectures upon them. In Boston there is an active effort for progress in all directions; and the only obstacle to a more earnest attention to scientific efforts, at present, is the unfortunate situation of things in the mercantile world, which has depressed many rich families. I shall probably deliver lectures next winter, in Boston, upon Ancient History, which I have been asked to do, by many different persons. The study of the German language and literature is steadily increasing. Many young Americans, particularly theological students, who have finished their studies here, are travelling to Germany, in order to begin there anew, and then to make the dead riches of German learning live here anew in this free air.

"26th September. I cannot describe to you how peacefully and happily we four, — that is, my wife, her two sisters, and I, a four-leaved clover, — live here together. We are exactly enough to occupy the four sides of our table at meals, at work, and at prayers. The sisters of my wife live on the income of their property, which is independent, and not more than barely sufficient to maintain them respectably. My younger sister-in-law, Susan Cabot, draws very prettily, and has published several charming stories for

children. I could say much of the songs, and other small pieces of my wife, did I not know, that it is her most earnest wish that I should forget the authoress in the friend. She writes you a few lines, which I translate literally.

* * * * *

"11th October. This letter was not sent sooner, because I thought I should have a private opportunity for it. Since it was begun, nothing is altered with us, except by the very great joy which your letter of the 28th of July has given us. God be thanked for your welfare, dear parents! Greet affectionately [Here follow the names of all the different members of the family]. I am so happy in the midst of my dear family. The time will come, I hope, when the governments on the other side will believe, that I do not wish to meddle in their affairs, which concern me not at all; and then I shall hope, when they can promise me a safe protection, to find a time to visit you. Yet, alas! how distant is this! I pray you, yet again, dear father, if it is too narrow for you there, to come with my mother to me and to your American daughter. My income, though small, is sufficient for us. And then I root myself, daily, more deeply in this native soil of freedom and truth, and I am now as good as certain, that I shall wish you joy, next April, of your first-born American grandson. The 18th of January is a festival for me. I become then a citizen of the United States. Good wishes, dear father, to you on this your birthday.

"Ever your CHARLES."

In March, 1830, as the necessary preliminary time had passed, Dr. Follen was admitted to all the rights and privileges of a native American. The strong feeling, that he manifested upon this occasion, was very characteristic of his childlike, earnest nature. He brought me the certificate, that he was an American citizen, with a glow of joy in his face, and declared, that the naturalized foreigner alone had a right to boast of his citizenship, for with him it was choice. When, not long afterwards, on the 11th of April, his son was born, "Now," he said, "I am an American." For a long time he had felt unwilling to be called a foreigner. There was none of the feeling of the foreigner in his heart. "Now," he said, "I shall have no more home-sickness." When he first looked upon our child, he said, "I must earn the right to the happiness I feel of being the father of the little fellow; his mother has already earned the privilege through suffering." He wrote, the day after the birth of his son, to his own father.

"*Cambridge, April 12th*, 1830.

"My beloved Father,

"I congratulate you on your first birthday as a grandfather in America. My wife gave birth, yesterday, to a strong, healthy boy. She is well and strong enough to bear the whole heaven of joy, which suffering has procured us. Yesterday, my soul was so full of unspeakable things, that I in vain endeavoured to write a word to you, beloved parents and sisters. Even now a trembling comes over me,

from time to time, as if the fear, which I battled down yesterday, would to-day find a vent, and dispute the birthright of my joy. Even my dear mother tongue seems to me now too strange to express to my friends the newly-born joys of a father. When I look upon this little stranger, the origin of whose life and its issues are lost in the nothingness of my knowledge, it really seems to me as if the Almighty himself had become my guest.

"15th May. I have suffered this letter to lie a whole month, and can now add, with much pleasure, that all three of us are very well, and that we very frequently do not know which of us is the most childish. The chamber of my wife, which the direction of the physician had, for a time, turned into a deaf and dumb institution, now often resembles a synagogue, in which every one seems to hear himself only, and yet to understand every other; or rather a heathen temple, in which acts of worship alternate with culinary operations. But in our hearts it does not, I believe, look quite so unchristianlike. In that innermost nursery, the eyes of all are thankfully directed to the light which has prepared for us, from the seed of tears, so transcendent a harvest of joy. But the more I seek to express myself on this heart subject, the more I feel, that all I would say would lead to nothing more than to envy the dumb, who are never tempted to convert their most precious possessions into words.

"My little man of taste takes to himself no other food than that which is formed just above the heart

of his mother; pure genuine Hochheimer Driessiger, which comes from the grape with you at home, just after it has ceased to weep. By this means his long limbs grow round daily. With regard to his looks, contradictory reports are in circulation here; while some declare him to be a model of beauty, others see in him the exact image of his father, — particulars, which no one, except his mother, understands how to reconcile. He has sky-blue eyes, and fair hair, of which his mother sends you herewith a small sample, in case it should not escape from the letter on the way. 'You must write to your father,' was her first request to me, after the little one had announced the Spring to us with his clear, quail notes. She wishes him to be baptized in his father's and his grandfather's name; and I join with her, dear father, in inviting you, affectionately, to this domestic high office. The thought of you, at least, shall be with me, and help me in holding our little one at the fount; and if the black man should find, that the hellish juice of the apple has left a drop behind in any corner of the poor child's heart, I will solemnly pronounce your name, in order to make the old Adam lose his reckoning. I will remark, in passing, that your name sounds better in English, where even the most affectionate aunt can make of the great Christopher no diminutive Töffel. 'Charles Christopher Follen' together make a very good sound!

"21st. I have let this letter lie by fourteen days longer, in spite of many admonitions from my better half. I hoped for an answer from you to my last

letter. You have received it, I hope. We are all well, and intend, very soon, to introduce our little undipped one to the dear Christendom. Our old, venerable friend, Dr. Ware, will preside at the baptism in the presence of a few friends. Among the invisible absent ones, you, dear father, will have the place of honor; and if, in our thoughts of you, dear friends, the torches of joy burn clearer, the beautiful superstition, that you too are thinking of us, will harmoniously mingle with the true faith."

CHAPTER XII.

He preaches at Newburyport. — Is invited to become Pastor of a Church there. — Accepts his Appointment as Professor of German Literature in Harvard College. — Extracts from Letters to Dr. Beck. — Resigns his Office in the Divinity School. — Lectures in Boston on Moral Philosophy. — Correspondence.

The number and variety of Dr. Follen's occupations became, at last, too much, even for his strong and well-trained body and mind. He began to suffer from exhaustion. In addition to this, he felt the depressive influence of hope deferred. He had all this time trusted, that the Corporation of Harvard College would appoint him Professor of some particular branch of instruction, with a regular Professor's salary. It was now two years, that this faith had cheered him amidst the exhausting effects of such constant labor. He began now to feel the necessity of making some effort to obtain a more satisfactory position. He had been asked, whether he would take the Latin Professorship. This he declined from the conviction, that it was not the best thing for him. The entire uncongeniality between the occupations of a Latin Professor, who should perform all his duty, and a teacher of religion and morals, which was the

place his whole previous life had fitted him for, and to which his heart was devoted, made it seem far more expedient, as well as desirable to him, to return to his original purpose of taking the charge of a parish.

He had received an invitation from the Unitarian Society in Newburyport, where he had occasionally preached, to supply their pulpit during the next College vacation. This he accepted, after making it known to the Corporation, that, unless a more desirable situation in the University should be assigned him, he should accept any advantageous offer, that might be made him from any religious society, to become their pastor. Many of his friends opposed this decision, from their conviction, that his right sphere of action was the University, and tried to persuade him, that, eventually, his reasonable hopes would be fulfilled. But he had become discouraged; and, in fact, his thoughts and affections turned so warmly at this time towards the Christian ministry, that he had almost ceased to desire a place in the College.

The following letter to Dr. Channing, written at this time, is sufficiently indicative of his state of mind.

"Dear Sir,

"Since my last conversation with you, I have reflected still more on the desire I then expressed to you, to devote myself exclusively to the Christian ministry. It is not merely a feeling of dissatisfaction with my present situation, which assigns to me four occupations, each of which requires the whole of my

powers in order to satisfy my conscience, and thus, by quartering my mind, unfits me for satisfactory effort; but my chief motive is what I consider the real object of the Christian ministry.

"I desire a permanent occupation, which shall afford me an opportunity, and make it my duty, to enter, with a number of my fellow-men, into that intimate and unreserved intercourse, which is necessary in order to bring home, to their individual capacities and wants, the most general and momentous truths; to make them consider religion, not merely as an interesting and affecting speculation, but as a reality; as much so, at least, as any thing which they can cast their eyes or lay their hands upon.

"My motives, for wishing to be a pastor to a society in the country, will not be questioned, I believe. By giving up my place and prospects in College for the ministry, I shall increase neither in worldly distinction nor income. Besides, a parish always presents great difficulties at the outset, and calls for constant, arduous exertion from the teacher who wishes to unite his people. Distinctions in society, like walls of partition, obstruct the best attempts at creating a deep and efficient fellow-feeling among them, and put to the test the strongest faith in the superiority of those gifts, by which nature has distinguished all men, over those which society has settled upon a few.

"Whoever would be a true Pastor, will fail to effect the one thing needful, unless he be actuated, not merely by a desire of spreading information, or dis-

pensing charity, but by that perfect love of justice, which gives and demands the highest respect for those claims of our common nature, which society loves to settle by liberal drafts upon the great Book of Eternity. The Christian minister will have to prove his calling by showing that the blind receive their sight, and that the gospel is preached to the poor.

"Your friend,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

During the summer vacation, Dr. Follen took his family with him to Newburyport, where he was engaged to preach for six weeks. A friend, who lived within a few miles of the town, took us to board at her house; and there, on the banks of the Artichoke, in one of those blessed little nooks, which are the true cities of refuge, which God has appointed for the over-full heart and over-plied spirit, he found the rest he so much needed. There, amidst beautiful scenery, and yet more beautiful goodness and kindness, we enjoyed together a happiness as unmingled as this state of being can ever allow. Dr. Follen's study hours were devoted to writing sermons. Some of his best discourses were written while there. When he was not in his study, he was tending his boy, singing from his endless store of German songs to him, or playing with our friends' children. As a proof of his ready sympathy with children; — one day one of the little girls lost her rabbit, which she was trying to tame. I wrote some lines that pretend-

ed to be from the rabbit, telling her of his joy at his freedom, and sealed it with a thorn. He left his writing, in which he was at that time particularly engaged, to get me a sharp thorn, and then threw the note in the little girl's path himself, and sat watching her a long time, unseen, that he might enjoy her surprise at its contents, when she found it and read it. Nature was a perpetual joy to him; he made it a study; he thought he never truly enjoyed any fine scene till he had become intimately acquainted with it. What he loved never grew old to him. Most of his sermons, at this time, were composed in the open air. One very warm day, while we were there, he walked to Newburyport, to visit a poor widow, who had lost a son at sea. He had to wander about a long while in the streets of the town before he could find her. We were dining when he came in, supposing he would wait for the coolness of the evening to return. We looked to see him express weariness in consequence of such a long lonely walk, in the heat of the day; but the light of Heaven seemed shining from his countenance, as he took his place among us, and said that he had had a very pleasant walk; and, on his way, he thought he had composed a better sermon than he had yet written. These few weeks were among the happiest of our lives.

The Society to which he was preaching were well pleased with his services, and invited him to become their Pastor. This proposal was, however, not made till he was about leaving Newburyport. And just at this time he received a letter from his brother-in-law,

Mr. Cabot, saying, that he and his father-in-law, Colonel Perkins, and Mr. Jonathan Phillips, had together subscribed the sum of five hundred dollars a year, for five years, upon the condition, that the Corporation should establish, during that time, a Professorship of German Literature, to which he should be appointed.

As he had told the President of the College, that, in case his duties were made easier in Cambridge, he should return, he felt bound to meet the wishes of his friends, and accept this proposed office of Professor of German Literature. He therefore refused the invitation of the Committee to become the Pastor of their Society, in the following terms.

"GENTLEMEN,

"According to my promise, to write to you as soon as I could come to a final decision, with regard to my connexion with the College, I hasten to inform you of a change that has taken place in my present situation, which puts it out of my power to accept the call of your Society, to become their minister. You know that before the parish met to decide on this question, I informed the Committee, and begged them to report at the meeting of the parish, that I had left Cambridge under the obligation to return and remain there, if the Corporation of the College should agree to my proposition, to retrench my duties of instruction, so as to confer on me one of them as a regular Professorship. The Corporation have since resolved to create a new Professorship of the German

Language and Literature, and to-day have nominated me to this office, which, according to my promise previously given, I feel bound to accept.

"I have stated to you, Gentlemen, the plain facts, and what I hope you, as well as myself, will consider my duty in this case. But this duty demands a sacrifice of personal feeling, which renders its performance difficult and painful. It is not only the interest, which your Society has taken in my religious services, it is an uninterrupted experience of confidence and kindness, which has laid me under a debt of gratitude to you, which I shall ever cherish, and which would have led me cheerfully to accept your invitation to be your minister, if I could have done so without violating a prior obligation.

"The kindness you have hitherto shown me assures me that my declining the offer, with which you have honored me, will not prevent you from continuing towards me the same sentiments of confidence and friendship, which induced you to intrust to me the care of your best and holiest interests.

"I hope and I pray, that the same strong interest in genuine Christianity, which has held your Society together until now, may abide in you; and may the blessing of Heaven guide you in your choice of a minister.

"Your faithful friend and servant,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

Dr. Follen wrote soon afterward the following letter to the Rev. Dr. Channing.

"*Cambridge, September*, 1830.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"I can hardly believe my own memory, which tells me, with the officiousness of an evil conscience, that your kind letter is already over a fortnight in my hands, and still no answer in yours. It was received by me at Newburyport, in the midst of the unusual effort of writing two sermons in the week; and since that time I have been prevented from writing to you, partly by my college labors, and partly by circumstances on which my plans for the future depended, and which required a deliberate, but prompt resolution. Your remarks on my article, 'On the Future State,' in the 'Examiner,' I read with grateful pleasure. As to what you say about my not having always resisted a certain intellectual temptation, I plead guilty, and have nothing to bring forward in self-defence, but that if, in the course of my argument, I fell in with many tempting incidents, which ran away with the main subject, there were still more from which the author prudently made his escape, to spare himself for future conquests."

He then gives Dr. Channing a statement of his reasons for declining the invitation of the Society of Newburyport, and for accepting the appointment of German Professor; but, as these reasons have been already given, the remainder of the letter is omitted.

Previously to his leaving Cambridge, he had resigned his place as Superintendent of the Sunday

School, to the newly elected Pastor, Mr. Newell. Upon his return, he found on his study table, a beautiful token of the affectionate remembrance of his pupils, of which he made the following acknowledgment.

"DEAR SIR,

"On my return home, last evening, I found a copy of Stewart's 'Moral Philosophy,' elegantly bound, and accompanied by a note, in which the parents of the children of the first parish request me, in the kindest terms, to accept of it as a token of their grateful acknowledgment of my services, in establishing the Sunday School. As the names of none of the parents are mentioned in the note, I take the liberty to ask you, dear Sir, to be the bearer of my thanks to them, for their kind recognition of a service, which had an abundant reward in itself; and to express to them my pleasure at receiving this beautiful memorial of their sense of the value of my humble efforts. It is, indeed, a blessed undertaking, to lead those who have but lately passed the threshold of life, to the arms of their heavenly Friend, who is ever ready to guide them into all truth, and to the mansions of eternal joy.

"Though it be no longer in my power to join my personal efforts with those of my fellow-laborers, for the benefit of this little flock, my best wishes and earnest prayers will ever be with this School, of which to have laid the corner-stone will be to me a lasting source of humble and grateful joy.

"Will you be so good, dear Sir, as to present to those, who have honored me by this kind proof of their regard, this imperfect expression of my grateful feelings and warmest thanks.

"I am, dear Sir, with respect, yours, &c.

"CHARLES FOLLEN.

"REV. MR. NEWELL."

Dr. Beck had been appointed Latin Professor, and Dr. Follen had again the pleasure of the society of his countryman and friend, who became an inmate of our house. As their correspondence terminated at this time, I make a few more extracts from those of his letters written from December, 1826, to the present date, October, 1830.

"February, 1827. I beg you, if a road leads down from the heights of your happiness to my Cambridge, impart something of your riches to me, poor pilgrim and beggar at the gate of Heaven. A few lines from you are manna to me in the desert of my labor."

"April, 1827. It was my plan, dearest, to favor you, this vacation, with my presence; to be the third in your union; but I must correct proofs. O, that you and your wife could come hither! I would do every thing to entertain you, be your *maître de plaisir*. For you, Charles, and, as I believe, for your Louisa, the religious meetings at Dr. Channing's would be of great interest. I will tell you of them another time."

"May 30th, 1827. I am preparing myself for lectures on Moral Philosophy, that is, the first generally intelligible principles of religion, morals, and law. I hope to commence at the beginning of winter. A fortnight of my summer vacation I wish to pass with you, and discuss these matters. The remaining four weeks I shall pass with Dr. Channing, in Newport, in order to become perfectly acquainted with him and his views."

"September 7th, 1827. After I left you in Springfield, we had a fine drive to Munson. The following day I was in Providence. I was for the most part with Dr. Wayland, and my ex-assistant, Haskins, and held in the evening a strict Gymnastic review. I spoke much with Dr. Wayland on education. He stated many fine views, and seemed to be respected and beloved by the teachers. He exercises with all. The following day I went to Newport. Dr. Channing received me in a very friendly manner. He was on his farm in Portsmouth, but one and a half miles from Newport, near the shore, in a beautiful region. I remained there till August 28th; read with him the Gospels, and discussed many theological subjects with him. He wished me to preach on the Sunday following, which I was obliged to decline, on account of our Commencement. He communicated many interesting views. He is one of the few men who examine the views of others without prejudice, without being vain of his own; but ready at any time to exchange them for better. The nearer and longer I am acquainted with

him, the more he appears to me as a spiritually free, courageous, and affectionate man."

"September 29th, 1827. Dear friend, I thank you for your theological remarks, which I have since then found to be confirmed in German commentaries. In general I find daily more proofs, that a profound and many-sided study of theology is to be found more in German works, than in all others. I attend Professor Norton, on the New Testament. His explanations are, on the whole, satisfactory. I must now commence writing sermons, as soon as I have shaken the mill-stone of the 'German Grammar' from my neck."

"Cambridge, October 30th, 1827. Notwithstanding your friendly invitation, and my strong desire, I shall probably not come to Northampton, because I study Channing much more than theology."

"June 28th, 1828. Dear Charles, I am so over head and ears in work, that I can only write what is most necessary. Here is my Grammar. On the 14th of July I shall have to read before the association of ministers my first sermon, on Immortality, and to answer some questions. Then I shall probably go, as temporary preacher, to Nahant for the month of August."

"August 11th, 1828. Your postscript, concerning the death of good Virginia, has interrupted, with its heart-cutting pain, the cheerful feeling produced by your letter. She has been a true friend to both of us, and left the earth and three uneducated children to mourn her with bitter sorrow. Our enlight-

ened age, to be sure, has refined away the thought, that the spirits of the departed hover around their remaining friends, into a mere æsthetical conception; but my heart tells me, with an assurance as if I myself had experienced it, that the heart of a mother remains with her children. I scarcely dare to think of the grief of poor Jung.

"On the 14th of July I read, before the association of ministers, a sermon on 2 Timothy i. 10; after which I was approved. The succeeding Sunday I preached in the Stone Chapel; went, on Tuesday, with E—— to Nahant, where I remained a fortnight, and preached on both Sundays. I succeeded better in the extemporaneous prayer than I had expected. The Directors of the Theological School have unanimously resolved to request the Corporation to raise my salary to twelve hundred dollars, for which I am to instruct, in the Divinity School, in ecclesiastical history and morals, on the three days when I am not occupied in the College. To keep my conscience clear, I have stated, that each of these departments requires a man's whole time, but that, if sufficient time for preparation were granted, I would conditionally accept the office, and do what I could. It is considered as a temporary arrangement, in the place of a Professorship of Moral Philosophy, for which alone I am fit, or of History, connected with historical instruction in the College. How imperfect my knowledge in ecclesiastical history is (with the exception of the constitutional part), no one knows better than you and I. But I have

to study it for myself, and so I hope to be of use to the students. The Corporation will decide next week, and, as I have reason to believe, in full agreement with the Directors. Then, dear friend, I come to a brighter spot in my wanderings. I shall be married."

"January 19th, 1829. Happiness for the new year to you and your wife. I am sorry I have not written for so long, especially after your highly acceptable letter; but truly, if you could transfer yourself, for a few moments, you would not consider the mention of my labors as a lawyer's plea. Had I not a wife, I should long ago have sunk under the pressure of business, and still more of the thoughts concerning it.

"My lectures on history commence in a week. I continue my ethics in Divinity Hall. Three days in a week still remain devoted to German instruction. I feel, dear friend, that I put this load upon you while you have your own troubles; but there are so few men here capable of feeling how painful it is to despatch, in a superficial manner, subjects which claim and deserve entire devotion and love, that it is a real pleasure to speak on these subjects, which have a language of their own, with one who understands them. That all these subjects require, singly, the same and greater care than the whole receives here, and in Germany really enjoy it, the people feel and know very well; but they imagine, that one, who comes from this scientific world, brings with him a universal knowledge, which, as a literary passport,

must, without further delay, open to him and them every department of knowledge.

"February 26th, 1829. My letter has lain until now without growing in the least. The waves of labor, which I tried to escape by writing to you, have met above my head, and still new cares for my Sunday School. Ethics and history haunt me like the spirits of the unburied. I have become a member of the Association for publishing the 'Christian Examiner.' I have sent a review of Bancroft's translation of Heeren to Walsh. I think, I hope at least, you will be pleased with it. It is a long time since I have heard from Basle. O that Jung were with us; he cannot but feel so solitary; I go very seldom to Boston. My blissful galley life, here in Cambridge, compels me, for the present, to give up all connexion with Boston, even with Dr. Channing, who sometimes visits us."

"August 29th. I have this morning returned from a journey to Andover. I saw Professor Stuart and the institution. The arrangements, as far as they meet the eye, are good. More German books in the library than anywhere in the country.

"Miss Wright fills the theatres with her lectures. It is the sensual system, which flatters the uncultivated common sense. It cannot yet be determined, how far the attention she receives is owing to curiosity or real interest in her views."

"January, 1830. We have had much sickness in our house. In the 'Christian Examiner,' you will find my article on the Future State. You remember,

that, on the 28th of this month, our political apprenticeship expires. I expect to receive the political baptism from Judge Davis. I have lately had letters from my parents. They are well. They advise me not to overstep the broad water threshold, and to beware of the *jus postliminii*."

"July 30th, 1830. I declared to the President and the Corporation, some time ago, that I could not keep my place, such as it now is, because it intellectually quartered me. They offered me to take the Latin with twelve hundred dollars for one year, keeping the German on probation; and if the instruction succeeds, after a year, to make me Professor of Latin exclusively, with a salary of fifteen hundred dollars. I stated to the President, that this was not my calling, that you were the best man for this department, and that he should apply to you. What will become of me, I know not. My friends wish to found a German Professorship for me; but I know not whether they will succeed. The society of Dr. Andrews, in Newburyport, has invited me to preach there during the six weeks' vacation. We shall go the 13th or 14th of this month.

"And now, dear friend, being done with business, I can say a few words of my new fortune, that is, of my healthy, strong, and lovely boy, of father joys, and shared mother joys, not to forget aunt joys. The christening was on the 2d in our house, in the presence of our family and Gräter. Dr. Ware christened him; and the boy played his part as well as the old man did his. I have never longed for you more eagerly;

for I know you would have forgotten your sorrows in the happiness of your friends."

"August 30th. They have made me Professor of the German Language and Literature. I have declined a unanimous call of the Society in Newburyport to become their minister."

"October 13th. I shall, this winter, deliver lectures on Moral Philosophy in Boston. I have already set about the prospectus.

"The glorious news from France has kept us in a continual rejoicing. I do not think, that it will have an immediate effect upon Germany. What is your opinion?"

Dr. Follen's great interest in the subject of Ethics, and the pleasure he had received from giving instruction in this branch, in the Divinity School, made him desirous of retaining this portion of his former duties, and he, accordingly, made a proposition to that effect to the Directors of the School. New arrangements were then in progress, between the Directors of the Divinity School and the Corporation, which Dr. Follen did not at that time know of, by which the funds would be otherwise employed to support the new office which Dr. Palfrey was to fill, and which made it manifestly impossible, that Dr. Follen's place as teacher of Ethics should continue. Had he fully understood the case, he would not have proposed to continue his instructions. I give the letter from Dr. Walker, which satisfied Dr. Follen, that his only course was to resign his office of teacher

of Ethics. He felt assured of Dr. Walker's personal regard, and the true kindness of his letter, and that he would approve of his decision.

"*Charlestown, September 7th*, 1830.

"DEAR SIR,

"I intended to have seen you at Cambridge before this time, or I should have written immediately after the meeting of the Directors. I laid before them your proposition to continue your instructions as heretofore, in the Divinity School. The only difficulty suggested, was that occasioned by the circumstance, which I mentioned in our conversation on the subject.

"The Directors, at the instance of the Corporation, have submitted a plan of what the School should be at some future day, how many instructers should be employed, and how the studies should be divided. This plan was not expected to interfere with any arrangements and engagements already existing; but, as it became necessary to make new arrangements and engagements, it was recommended that the plan proposed should be carried into effect. According to this plan, three Professors are to be employed in the School, and to give the whole instruction, to one of whom instruction in Ethics is assigned, as part of his course, to occupy, however, but one term in the junior year. Whether this plan will be finally adopted or not, and, if adopted, whether it will not be necessary to provide, for a time, at least, an assistant instructor in Ethics, I am unable to say. You may rest assured,

however, that your past services in this branch are duly appreciated; and that if any one is to be engaged in this capacity, there is no person in the community, whom the Directors would sooner recommend. While things are in this state, however, their propositions not being as yet definitely acted on by the Corporation, the Directors do not feel at liberty to pass a vote on the subject. It will probably be taken up at the next meeting. Meanwhile, I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you, when I will explain what I fear this scrawl will leave as dark as ever. I despatch it merely to convince you, that I have not neglected your commission, and to assure you that I am, as ever,

"Yours very sincerely,

"JAMES WALKER."

At the next meeting of the Directors of the School, Dr. Follen sent in his resignation of the office of teacher of Ethics and Ecclesiastical History, which was accepted; and thus terminated his connexion with the Cambridge Divinity School.

He would not have offered to continue his instructions in the Divinity School, had he not been led to believe, that they were so interesting to the students, and were thought so really useful, that they would not be readily dispensed with. He thought he did not overrate his own powers, but he was satisfied that he was fitted for a higher place than an assistant instructor in Ethics; he could not help being disappointed. But it was not in his nature to dwell upon

irremediable evils; *Onward* was his motto. He immediately resolved to deliver a course of lectu es on Moral Philosophy, in Boston. He had some fears lest they should not succeed; but he resolved to give them as popular a character as possible, and make the experiment. Moral Philosophy, in all its relations and bearings, had been his favorite study from his earliest youth. He had collected abundant materials for such a course of lectures, and his heart was in the work. He longed to communicate of his abundance to others; and he felt the importance of increasing his means of living.

He published, in October, his Prospectus, and the lectures were very successful; he had a large and very agreeable audience. They brought him into more immediate contact with the true heart of our society, and made his name and character more widely known. They gave rise to the following correspondence with a person, who had made some hasty remarks in relation to the lectures. Dr. Follen's letters illustrate a trait in his character. While he was totally free from any undue self-esteem, he would not quietly submit to a false accusation; but would firmly, though mildly, demand justice for himself, as he would for another.

"*Cambridge*, 27 *December*, 1830.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance with you; but the very favorable impression I received from Mr. ——'s account of your character,

encourages me to address you with confidence on a subject, which I, as a Christian and a clergyman, must be very desirous to have explained. It was reported to me, last night, that you had said of the principles contained in my 'Introductory Lecture on Moral Philosophy,' that they were a sort of 'Fanny-Wrightism' for the higher classes? I shall always be glad to see my opinions called in question, and criticized; but I cannot submit to have principles ascribed to me, which are entirely opposed to those I hold true and sacred. I cannot believe that any man of good feeling and sound sense could recognise the principles of materialism and atheism in a discourse, which distinctly asserts the reality of virtue and religion; the authenticity of the Gospel as a divine revelation of truth; the existence of one infinite Spirit; and the moral freedom and immortality of the soul. I cannot believe, therefore, that such a report could have originated with you; but am persuaded that it must seem equally important to you, as a Christian and a gentleman, to prevent your name from being attached to a falsehood, as it is to me, that you should enable me to contradict it on your own authority.

"Will you have the kindness to favor me with an answer as soon as convenient?

"Respectfully yours,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

"*December 28th*, 1830.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have, this moment, received your letter, dated yesterday, and hasten to reply. I have considered the delivery of your lectures as a circumstance of much importance, and have spoken of them very freely; but, I hope, never carelessly. If the language I have used has been so exceedingly misconstrued, as I should infer from your letter, I deeply regret it, and am glad of the opportunity of stating distinctly what I mean. It is perfectly true, that I have (in two instances, I believe,) used such an expression as was reported to you, if not the same. But I used it to make more clearly intelligible my views of a class of doctrines, of which you are not the only preacher; and as, I supposed, with a qualification and limitation so perfectly explicit, as to be beyond the reach of misapprehension. It seems, however, that I was mistaken.

"I suppose that the will and understanding of man are naturally perfectly opposed to religion, that is, to goodness and truth; and that the affections can be led to the love of goodness, and the intellect to the perception of truth, in no other way than by a resistance to the feelings and passions of our nature; which resistance is, again, nothing, unless it rest upon a sincere acknowledgment of our utter inability to think a true thought or to love one good thing without the immediate and unceasing influence of the Lord. Further, I think there can be no other way of enlightening the mind, as to religious or moral

truth, than by assuming that the Bible is true as nothing else is true; that it is to be taken as the beginning and foundation of all wisdom, as in itself perfectly beyond the question of reason, and as throwing upon all questions of religion and morality all the light they can possibly receive. And further, that reason is perpetually trying to forget that she is a servant; and that, if reason act upon these topics without perpetual and perfect submission to revelation, the result is necessarily error. I believe not many hold these doctrines distinctly and positively, but that many hold them confusedly; and that it is just so with their antagonist doctrines. Now I regard all the present doings of Providence as intended to reduce into order the existing chaos of thought upon these subjects; to separate, not merely between man and man, but, in the minds of all men, between these two doctrines; to make men think consistently, and to make them know what they actually do think. These two doctrines are, it seems to me, on the one hand, that all true faith springs from and rests upon the admission of the perfect and entire sufficiency and sovereignty of the Bible; and, on the other hand, that all infidelity springs from, and rests upon, and is the same thing with, a supposition that human reason is strong and sufficient.

"Now I think that Fanny Wright and all her class are permitted by Providence to preach among the unlearned, and those who are unaccustomed to nice reasoning and measured phraseology. I think such preachers in no case create infidelity; but they bring

it out, if not before the world, yet before the man himself, and give to it distinctness and confirmation; and precisely as they do this, so do they develope and strengthen belief in those who hear and turn from them. I think that in 'the upper classes' a similar work needs to be done, because I believe that among them, also, is there infidelity; or, what is the same thing with me, a belief in the strength and sufficiency of human reason. But no infidel preacher would be heard by them; and, under Providence, a clergyman, whose character no one ever impeached, and whose belief in the authenticity of the Gospel, the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul, nobody for a moment ever doubted, lectures to them concerning morality, and says, that 'religion is based upon morality,' and not that morality is based upon religion; and that 'it is one way to inculcate duty by specific rules, as in the Ten Commandments, and a better way to ask of reason what is right.' I do not, of course, pretend to quote your words precisely; but, if I err in them, I beg you to correct me. I have most distinctly said elsewhere, that I heard nothing from you, which might not be explained into accordance with what seems to me vital truth. I think your expressions would excite in the minds of the hearers exactly opposite trains of thought and conclusions, according to the prevailing feeling and opinion of each individual. I have elsewhere endeavoured to say, that I considered you as unconsciously helping your hearers to choose which master they would serve, reason or revelation. Most firmly do I be-

lieve that both are necessary; but I strive never to forget that both cannot be masters. You speak of the principles of materialism and atheism. I acknowledge but one principle of either, or of any other falsity; and this is, the sufficiency of human reason. This principle I thought fairly deducible from your first lecture (the only one I have heard) by those who wished to deduce it, or to find for it support and confirmation; but I never meant to charge you, and I am sure no person ever thought I meant to charge you, with materialism and atheism. Whenever I have coupled with your name the odious name of Fanny Wright, — a name as odious to you as to me, — I did think I could not be misunderstood as to the use I would make of it; I am very sorry to find myself mistaken.

"Let me add, that I have explicitly declared, that I did not in the least doubt your possessing that belief of the mission of Christ, of the authority of his words, and the reality of his miracles, which you constantly preach and profess. Nor can I doubt it, until either your language, or my opinion of your sincerity, is much changed. My opinion of you in this respect has been uniform; originally derived from our common friends, and confirmed by what I have heard from you or of you. I have expressed this opinion elsewhere very plainly, and not unfrequently; and I should do much gratuitous violence to my own feelings if I expressed any other.

"I have replied instantly to your letter, at the risk, perhaps, of speaking confusedly; and I should

be glad of a reply, or of an interview, or of both. Of course, I do not suppose that we can at all agree in our systems; but, if I have failed to speak of you, at any time, honestly and kindly, I have committed a sin, and I wish to know it and to repent of it.

"With sincere respect,

"Your obedient servant."

"*Cambridge*, 29 *December*, 1830.

"DEAR SIR,

"I received your answer last night; and, much as I regret to find the report, which I hoped to be able to contradict on your own authority, confirmed by yourself, I believe that you did not intend the injurious effect which that report, if credited by others, is calculated to produce. Whatever, therefore, be the effect, I shall not charge you with it, because I believe your intentions such as you express them, honest and kind. The only thing with which, in your place, I think I should reproach myself, would be a want of attention to the obvious meaning and natural purport of my words. You know it is generally the case, that, of a conversation, if it be repeated, and become a report, only the most striking expressions, such as are framed for the purpose of characterizing or stigmatizing a particular object, are apt to be remembered. You acknowledge to have used such an expression, if not the same, as was reported, namely, that my doctrine was a sort of 'Fanny-Wrightism' for the higher classes. By 'Fanny-Wrightism,' I believe everybody understands the

principles professed and taught by that lady, that is, materialism and atheism. And the addition 'for the higher classes' only adds to that 'odious name,' as you yourself call it, the further reproach of dressing up corruption in 'purple and fine linen.'

"It is obvious, that the fact of my belonging to a class of Christians, who are charged with infidelity by those from whose opinions they feel bound in conscience to dissent, is likely to secure popularity to such a remark, particularly if applied to a foreigner, who has the misfortune to be a German theologian. I wish you would ask yourself, whether, under these circumstances, you think it considerate to couple so 'odious a name' with a man, 'whose character,' you say, 'no one ever impeached, and whose belief in the authenticity of the Gospel, the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul, nobody for a moment ever doubted'!

"With regard to the doctrines you express in your letter, I cannot reason with you, partly from want of time, and particularly because the extent you allow to reason in matters of faith, would not enable me to appeal even to the sense of the Bible itself, which my reason compels me to acknowledge as a record of revealed truth, whilst without reason I should look upon it as a collection of white leaves, with black lines consisting of straight and crooked strokes.

"As you request me to rectify, if I found it necessary, the statement of my lecture contained in your letter, I will add, that I have not said, and do not

believe, that religion is founded upon morality, but that both have a common foundation in human nature, and are essentially connected. Again, in speaking of the two ways to teach morality, either by reason inquiring into its foundation, or, as it is done in the 'Ten Commandments,' by prescribing specific rules, I have not said that the former is a *better*, but simply that it is *another* way.

"Allow me to express to you my respect for the frankness with which you have asserted your own peculiar faith, as well as for your readiness to repair whatever may grow out of the report you have unintentionally given rise to. Whether the remarks I have here made be mistaken or true, I hope, at least, that you will recognise in them the intention which prompted them, — to 'speak the truth in love.'

"Yours respectfully,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

"*December* 31*st*, 1830.

"DEAR SIR,

"I did not intend to justify, but to explain my use of that expression. I think with you that it was wrong, and the more wrong as you are a clergyman and a stranger. That it would be popular with the orthodox, no ways reconciles me to it, for I am as little in unity with them as with their opponents.

"It is well to avoid expressions that are peculiarly liable to abuse or mistake, for the very reason that no care will entirely suffice to prevent misunderstanding. For instance, in your letter you say, and in reference

to me, 'Without reason I should look upon it (the Bible) as a collection of white leaves with black lines, consisting of straight and crooked strokes.' Now, without reason, *I* could not tell the straight from the crooked strokes; and I believe I have said nothing which tended to the destruction or disregard of reason. Without it, there could be no revelation; but when reason claims to be equal or independent, the light becomes darkness. This is what I meant to say; but if I learn, that you think me opposed to reason, to its free and full exercise, or blind to its essential importance, I shall only regret that you so mistake me, and hope for times when thoughts and words will be clearer. I do not think rationalism will pass away, but will have the breath of life breathed into it; and this will be when Reason shall acknowledge, that all her light and life are perpetually flowing from Him, who alone is light and life, and whose divine wisdom is the Word.

"At all events, I am sure you do not wish to mistake me, and I am, with much respect,

"Your obedient servant."

The course of lectures on Moral Philosophy forms one volume of this collection of his works.

The success of this effort to obtain a hearing from the public was a great pleasure to him. He felt such things more than most men, not as a gratification of his self-love in the common acceptation of the term; but he valued popularity as a means of enforcing what he thought great truths, for which he was always ready to labor, to suffer, and, if need were, to die.

All the depression of spirits, which his disappointment in the Divinity School had occasioned, passed away; — the great free school of the world was the one he ever preferred to teach in. He preached whenever he was invited, which was frequently, and he often said, "After all, I like to preach to many parishes better than to one;" and in all respects his life was just what he most desired. A passage from a letter he wrote to his father, at this time, shows his happy state of mind.

"*Cambridge, May 25th*, 1832.

"My attachment to this glorious country increases daily, although my love to my old father-land does not grow cold. Many glorious productions flourish and increase in Europe, but *man*, who is there only a hot-house plant, finds here a native soil.

"Could I only show you my little boy with his forget-me-not eyes, and his sportive shouts! If I could send you, with our greetings, a joyful flash from his blue eyes, it would suffice to banish many dark thoughts of our separation."

It was Dr. Follen's custom, at that time, to write till one or two o'clock at night, and he loved to have the cradle of his infant son by his side, and rock him while he was writing, that his mother might sleep. Many of his lectures were written in this way. Through all his different trials, hope had prevailed in his mind, but now it reigned supreme; he had no fear. He felt almost sure, that, at the termination of

the five years, his professorship would be either continued by the Corporation of the College, or that they would offer him some other satisfactory place. All his old predilections in favor of a college life revived. His attachment to the University, in which he had already been a teacher for more than five years, became stronger. He was now one of the Faculty, and his heart glowed with the desire and purpose to be a truly useful servant of the institution. All was well with him; his soul seemed overflowing with joy. His recreation from study or college labors was playing with his little boy, and singing German songs to him. He had ceased to feel that he was singing the sacred songs of home in a strange land. He was so well pleased with his situation in Cambridge, and so confident that he should remain there, that he purchased a piece of land, and built himself a house. He looked forward to its being a permanent home for life. His fond anticipations led him so far as to make him leap over the intervening years, and enjoy the thought of how well the nursery, which we had planned for our infant boy, would serve him for a study, when his childish years should have passed away, and he should be a student in the University, in which his father was a teacher.

Dr. Follen received this summer a letter from the friend, with whom we had passed some happy weeks the summer before; an extract from his reply shows his occupations and his state of mind.

"*Cambridge, June 11th*, 1831.

"My dear Sir,

* * * * *

"However pleasant it would be to us to seek a shelter under your elms, and under your hospitable roof, we must forego this and like pleasures for indispensable occupations, which detain us here, such as the building of our new house, and the republication of my 'Grammar.' Nothing but actual sickness would induce us to leave home, and then we should go to the seashore for the bracing effect of the air; but we hope we shall not be obliged to leave home at all.

"Mrs. Follen and myself feel grateful to you for your remembrance of little Charley, perhaps the more so from the circumstance of his being now much troubled from cutting teeth.

"Our residence at 'the Mills' will always be one of unmingled pleasure. When our new house is finished, we shall have a spare room, which we shall consider as yours whenever you will do us the favor to occupy it.

"Yours, with respect and affection,

"C. Follen."

CHAPTER XIII.

He is inaugurated as Professor. — His inaugural Address. — Correspondence with Mr. John Quincy Adams. — His Eulogy on Spurzheim. — Lectures on Schiller. — Domestic Troubles. — Death of his Father. — Letter to his Mother. — Extracts from his Father's Letters. — He sets out on a Journey.

When we took possession of our new house, in the autumn of 1831, Dr. Follen's pleasure was very great. "At last," he said, "I have a study to my mind. It is, indeed, a blessing to me to have a place for my books and papers; now I shall be able to do something." No being ever lived, who had a keener relish for all the comforts and nameless delights of a pleasant, convenient house. His perceptions of order and beauty were vivid, and made him peculiarly susceptible to the unharmonious influences of an uncertain and changing mode of life. We had already moved twice since our marriage, and his hopeful spirit relied almost with certainty upon the thought, that now he was established. As he laid out his garden, and set out his trees and shrubs, he already looked upon them as old friends; and his generous heart rejoiced at the prospect of long and liberally exercising that simple but true hospitality, which, with him, was

so unquestioned a duty, that he never asked whether it was a pleasure, and so high a pleasure that he never thought of it as a duty. As we had some rooms to spare, we took four young men to board with us, who made a part of our family, and did not interfere with our domestic quiet. The love and reverence, that these young men felt for Dr. Follen, will last as long as they have memory or affection.

One Sunday, during this happy period, when Dr. Follen returned from preaching in a neighbouring town, he told me, that he had taken up a negro man on the road, and that he found him a very interesting companion. He said it was raining very hard, and the man looked rather infirm, and was walking slowly, and as if he could not well stand against the storm. He took him all dripping wet into his chaise, and the poor man soon began to talk with him about slavery, and told him of Mr. Walker, the author of a very incendiary pamphlet, which he had sent at his own expense to the South. He said Mr. Walker had died very suddenly, and the colored people thought, from appearances, that he had been poisoned. His accidental conversation with this poor man excited his mind powerfully, and it was not long after this, that Dr. Follen visited Mr. Garrison, whose efforts for the slaves he had heard of.

Dr. Follen was formally introduced into his office of Professor of German Literature, just one year after his appointment. His Inaugural Address was delivered to a very small audience. He had taken great pains with it, and supposed that there would be

the number of hearers usual upon such occasions; it was not so. When he noticed what a mere handful of people were present, as he told me afterwards, he felt depressed; but it was only for a moment. No one, who heard him, would have known from his manner, that he even perceived how small his audience was. I was troubled till I noticed his serene countenance, and then I cared no more for the number of his hearers.

After his address was made public, he received many very gratifying letters from distinguished individuals, expressive of their great pleasure in the perusal of it, and in the establishment of the professorship. From them I select those of John Quincy Adams and Edward Livingston.

"*Quincy, 24th October*, 1831.

"PROFESSOR CHARLES FOLLEN,

"DEAR SIR,

"In return for the copy of your Inaugural Discourse, which I have had the pleasure of receiving, I ask your acceptance of two recent performances of my own. The perusal of your discourse has renewed the gratification with which I heard it, and my pleasure, both at the institution of the professorship of the German Language and Literature, and at the selection of the Professor. I am the more flattered, at the introduction of the names of Klopstock and Wieland into the list of eminent writers of various literature, because, on my mentioning to you, that I had noticed their omission, you observed, that Klop-

stock should have been included in your list, but expressed a doubt whether Wieland was entitled to the same honor.

"Thirty years have passed away since a residence of four years at Berlin, and excursions into Saxony and Silesia, had given me an enthusiastic relish for German literature. At that time, Wieland was *there* I think decidedly the most popular of the German poets, and although there was in his genius neither the originality nor the deep pathos of Göthe, or Klopstock, or Schiller, there was something in the playfulness of his imagination, in the tenderness of his sensibility, in the sunny cheerfulness of his philosophy, and in the harmony of his versification, which, to me, were inexpressibly delightful. His morals had too much of the '*quidlibet audendi*' of poetry, either for my principles or my taste; but I, from whom Ovid, and La Fontaine, and Voltaire, and Ariosto, and Pope, had extorted long and reluctant admiration, could not subject Wieland to a more severe scrutiny than they had passed through.

"Among my exercises in learning the German language, was a complete translation into English verse of his 'Oberon,' which I should have published, but that Mr. Sotheby got the start of me. When I saw his translation, I was content to keep mine in my *porte-feuille*. My German teacher sent a copy of the first Canto of my translation to Wieland himself, and asked him his opinion of it, which he gave with frankness. He compared it with Sotheby's translation, then just published, and gave the palm of

poetry to him, and of fidelity to me; a decision which my own judgment fully confirmed.

"As I took the liberty of naming to you two German poets, with whose works I was acquainted, I now take that of inquiring what are the writings of Richter and Tieck, which have given them celebrity. I had some knowledge of Voss, and Musaeus, and Auguste La Fontaine, and, above all, Bürger.

"Since I had the pleasure of hearing you, I have met with a little volume of autobiography of Sir Walter Scott, from which it appears, that both he and his predecessor, Monk Lewis, are pupils of the German school, and that Bürger's 'Lenore' was the mother of the 'Lay,' and 'Lady,' and 'Marmion,' and the prodigious family of the Waverleys. It was a noble descent. I was at Berlin when the English translations of 'Lenore' appeared by the half dozen, not one of which, Scott's included, has a spark of Bürger's fire. Bürger's 'Wilhelm' was killed at the *Prager Schlacht.* Scott makes him a crusader in Palestine. Lessing very justly ridicules Voltaire for bringing a ghost from the tomb at noonday, in the presence of multitudes of people. A ghost five hundred years old is as much out of season, as a ghost at noonday is out of time. The thrilling interest of 'Lenore' is, that her lover had left her to go with *König Friedrich's Macht*, and that the ballad was published while King Frederick yet lived. How was it possible that Scott should not feel this?

"I am, dear Sir, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"J. Q. Adams."

"*Washington, November 1st*, 1831.

"SIR,

"I have read with great pleasure the Inaugural Discourse you have had the kindness to send me. It marks a new era in our classical course of education; and the introduction of the German literature and language cannot but have a powerful effect on our own. The influence, which you state the French language and style to have had at one period in corrupting the simplicity of the German, may also, I think, be observed in the English. It is difficult to avoid the imitation of words and turns of expression, from a language which is generally studied and admired; and the lustre of the French literature in the age of Louis the Fourteenth, produced, in a greater or less degree, in the succeeding century, similar effects on all the languages of Europe. Whether this admixture improved or injured them, is somewhat doubtful. Where there was little analogy in the structure of the language into which the change was introduced, with that of the French, the patchwork became apparent. This seems to be the case with the German; and one but little acquainted with its forms of expression must observe the effect you mention. The German and the English, on the contrary, may easily amalgamate, and improve each other. The establishment of your chair, I therefore consider as of great importance in a philological view, independent of the rich mine of literature and science, which it opens to the industry of the rising generation.

"It is fortunate for the country, that the task of

separating the valuable material from the dross has fallen into such able hands, and honorable to the University to have discovered and availed itself of the advantage such talents afford.

"I am, Sir, with great consideration,

"Your most obedient servant,

"EDWARD LIVINGSTON.

"To PROFESSOR FOLLEN,

"*University of Cambridge.*"

Dr. Follen's reply to Mr. Adams's letter he has been so kind as to furnish me with.

"*Cambridge, 1st December*, 1831.

"DEAR SIR,

"I cannot employ a part of Thanksgiving day more properly than by acknowledging your kind and very interesting letter, as well as the two eloquent and instructive orations, by which it was accompanied. The warm praise of German literature, from one who possesses the master-key to all the magnificent halls and secluded cells of universal literature, could not but be highly grateful to an individual, who, amidst the benefits of this land of manly freedom, has not ceased to bless the leading-strings of his infant mind. Your criticism on some German authors proves, that, in appreciating the merits of foreign works, you are not satisfied with settling their value by the price-current of the reading world, but according to their individual excellence. A critic, who combines with the impartial and comprehensive glance

of a general scholar the sure and delicate touch of a native, knows, that, also in the republic of letters, the market price is not the legitimate standard by which to determine the comparative value of Spartan iron and Persian gold.

"With regard to the two authors, about whose merits you inquire, I would observe, that those of J. P. F. Richter rest on a very extensive as well as deep foundation. Of the numerous family of his novels, I will mention only his 'Titan,' his 'Flegeljahre,' 'Quintus Fixlein,' and 'Katzenberger's Badereise.' His 'Levana,' (on education,) and his 'Selina,' (on the immortality of the soul,) are proofs of his philosophic genius. These various productions are the manifestations of a mind equally distinguished by elevation and tenderness of heart, an exuberant and plastic imagination, and the Proteus power of wit, which, in its lawless, childlike playfulness, unshapes all things into a merry chaos, in order to remodel the world after its own fashion.

"Tieck stands at the head of the romantic school in Germany. His most interesting productions are contained in a collection of tales and plays, called 'Phantasus.' There is no writer that I know, who has called forth and unfolded more powerfully that principle in our nature, which makes us capable alike of true religion and of superstition; a principle which is, perhaps, of all the most characteristic feature in the German character; that simplicity, which walks by faith, which is ever ready to believe what it has not seen; and, though it receives many things with

reason, has, on the other hand, the privilege of perceiving what reason cannot see; what is hidden from the wise and the prudent, and revealed to the simple. The tales of Tieck are characterized by a continuous transition from the most simple every-day events of life, to those which lie beyond all experience and all calculation. This intimate connexion at once gives to the miraculous the assurance of experience, and to the simplest reachings of the heart their true heavenly import, by showing that credulity is but the infancy of faith.

"While Tieck was among the first, who directed the misguided taste of the public to the true sources of sentiment and poetry, he wrote the death-warrant of a sickly sentimentality in his 'Puss in Boots,' (Der gestiefelte Kater,) the best, if not the only good German comedy; making the stage an Aristophanic self-exhibition of authors and critics, the public and the court.

"I thank you for the interesting incident from your own literary life during your residence in Germany. It brought to my mind again many interesting and pleasing features of Wieland's personal character, with which I became acquainted through his son, Ludwig Wieland, a friend of mine during my residence at Jena. He was the editor of the most liberal and powerful periodical of that time, — 'The Patriot.' He died in 1819.

"Your remarks on Scott's translation of 'Lenore,' have afforded much pleasure to me, as well as to some of my friends. Indeed, if the translation were

the work of an unknown writer, instead of that of the late 'Great Unknown,' I should be strongly tempted by this strange translation of the 'Seven Years' War,' from the eighteenth to the thirteenth century, to charge the transferrer with having unluckily confounded King Frederic Second, of Prussia, with his namesake, the crusading German Emperor.

"I am, dear Sir, with great respect,

"Your obedient servant,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

Dr. Follen gave his first course of lectures on German Literature, to the students, this year. His lectures were well attended. As one proof of the estimation in which they were held by the students themselves, and of their estimation of their teacher in this department, I give an extract from the Rev. Mr. S. Osgood's Class Oration, in 1832.

"In the facilities of education we have been most happy. We have been educated at an institution, that has no rival in this country in its endowments and advantages. We have enjoyed its privileges, too, at the period of its greatest prosperity. It has been our lot to have witnessed numerous and valuable additions to its advantages, many of which might be spoken of with gratitude. As the last, and what has been to us the most important of these, may be mentioned the creation of a professorship of the German Language and Literature. As speaking the English language, we must regard with joy an event so prom-

ising to enrich us by the study of a kindred tongue, — the only foreign language that can contain the thought of Shakspeare. As citizens of a free country, we must rejoice at what tends to diffuse a high-toned and free-spirited foreign literature ; a literature imbued with the holy patriotism and heavenly fervor of a Schiller, and rising mightier and freer from the weight of political oppression, as if awakened into power by the very effort to crush it.

"For the gift we may thank the giver. For the able and kind manner in which it has come to us, we should express our gratitude to one, who has labored assiduously for our improvement; and who must richly attain the wish, expressed in his 'Inaugural Address,' 'to do justice to his feelings of grateful attachment to his adopted country and to his native land.'"

Mr. Osgood, in the letter in which he sends me this extract from his Class Oration, says, "The President of the University thought best, that the last paragraph should be omitted in the delivery, which it accordingly was. It was deemed improper to allude, either in praise or blame, to any individual instructor or officer in the college. I take a mournful satisfaction in recurring now to the subject."

Two years had now passed since Dr. Follen had entered upon his professorship. They had been halcyon days, but they were already numbered. In the November of 1832, he was called to the painful duty of delivering the funeral oration at the death of

his countryman, Dr. Spurzheim. We had known this truly good and great man but a short time, but we loved him as a brother, and we deeply mourned his untimely death. The method Dr. Follen adopted to prepare himself to deliver the eulogy on Spurzheim was characteristic. He devoted himself to the accumulation of all the little facts in relation to him that he could by any means ascertain. When any thing was told him, he went to the person by whom it was first related, to discover if it was correctly stated, and did not rest till he had arrived at the exact truth. "I want," he said, "to give a true picture of the man, not a mere piece of panegyric." He finished his address in the desk, in the presence of the crowd that came to listen to him, and in sight of the mortal remains of his deceased countryman and friend. "I hope," he said, "I have done justice to this truly great man;" he thought not of himself.

During this winter, Dr. Follen delivered a course of lectures on Schiller, in Boston. He had a large and very agreeable audience, and he had the great pleasure of being the means of exciting that interest in his favorite poet, which he thought him so worthy to inspire. He instructed a class of law students in the civil law, and wrote an article upon the civil law for the "American Quarterly Review." He also wrote a review of Wheaton's "History of the Northmen." But all his labors were rendered arduous to him by the state of his family. She, whose highest pleasure it was to maintain that order in his house so essential to his comfort, to take care of his child,

receive his friends, and minister to his few personal wants, was now only an object of continual anxiety and care to him; he had constantly to witness severe pain, that he could do nothing to relieve, but which his presence could always give strength to endure. Most of his lectures on Schiller were written while watching by the sick bed of his wife. He was never wearied, never disheartened; when all else was darkness and pain, his face spoke of hope and returning health, and had in it the peace and joy of Heaven.

Dr. Follen wrote again this spring to his father; and this was the last letter he ever wrote to him.

"*Cambridge*, 30*th May*, 1833.

"DEAR FATHER,

"You will receive these lines from one of my American friends, Mr. Dewey, a Unitarian clergyman, who is going to Europe for the benefit of his health. He is a very excellent and well-informed man, who has great influence here. I hope he will have learned German enough, by the time he reaches you, to make himself understood by you. He will give you exact information of me and mine. My wife has been ill during the greater part of the last winter, and is now first convalescent. She sends affectionate greetings to you, to our dear mother, and all. Her greatest wish is, that you could see your little grandson, who is developing in mind and body, in perfect health; and who, when he is not running about in the free air, keeps his mother company in the chamber to which she is confined.

"I have lately received intelligence from New York, of the arrival there of a small chest containing linen, which I shall probably receive to-morrow. Charles Troub writes me, from Bremen, that they are shirts, sent me by my mother. I thank you for them, dear mother, very heartily. They will suit me better than any American shirts; for I am still as ever, where the shirt touches me, a German. I hope that the little chest contains letters for me, also, for which I earnestly long.

"I have only time at present for these few lines.

"Your faithful CHARLES."

Not long after he wrote this letter, Dr. Follen came to me one day with his face radiant with joy. "I have got something to read to you," he said, "which you will like to hear. A letter from Germany; I have not yet opened it." He sat down by me to read it. Soon his face told me, that the letter contained sad tidings. His father was dead. He loved his father tenderly, devotedly; and he always believed that he should see him again. He even hoped that his father might come to this country to see him, and that he should have him under his own roof. All his sorrow at leaving the home of his childhood and youth revived; he wept long and bitterly. After some time he said, "My father begins already to seem nearer to me than he has since I left Germany." From this moment the idea of a greater spiritual nearness to his father seemed to comfort him. Dr. Follen did not reply to his mother's letter till some weeks afterwards.

" *Cambridge, July 1st*, 1833.

" My beloved Mother,

" The news of the death of my father came upon me unexpectedly, and was unspeakably painful, in the midst of heavy apprehensions concerning the failing health of my wife. The separation by death from my first, long tried, deeply venerated, and beloved friend, revived the old grief of separation, which had been buried under a friendly present; and my wounds bleeding afresh cried out against the great enemies which had robbed me of my home, my friends, my past, and my future. But my heart turns away from these hostile, these powerless thoughts. No complaint shall mingle with the one sorrow. It is hard to part in life, it is harder to be parted in death. When the sad news reaches the most distant friends, it comes swelled with all the sorrows of those who were nearer.

" How clear and living does the image of my father's soul stand before me. His penetrating and comprehensive understanding; his uprightness and firmness; his glowing justice, aiding the oppressed, unmoved by the prayers or power of the oppressor; his contempt of all false appearances; his self-sacrificing, untiring sense of duty, which acknowledged no superior, regarded no relationship, which knew neither friend nor foe, which kept him always ready to stand before the highest judgment. Who of us does not remember with a painful pleasure his cheerful disposition, his wit, his power of entertaining, his noble and truly youthful interest in the generous though

imprudent exertions of young people; his childlike pleasure in children, whom he attached to himself by his humorous inventive imagination, and gift at story-telling.

"Whoever believes with me in an immortality into which the soul of every man transfers its essential features, and with continued self-determination becomes still further developed, will find it natural that, at my next emigration, from this old world into that which is eternally new, I shall see my father again, and recognise him by the inextinguishable features of his mind. It is a consolation for the poor and powerless on earth, that the injurious power, that separates children from their parents, and brothers from sisters, does not extend to the promised land, which we enter by faith, even here. That my father preserved the clearness of his mind, and the peace of his conscience, even in the last dark hour, was the natural end of a life passed in temperance, in industry, and honesty. So gentle a falling asleep certainly indicates a cheerful awaking.

"You speak, dear mother, of a letter of Paul's to me; I have not received any. With regard to his plan of emigration, I remark, as follows;

"As a lawyer he might find here probably a considerable income, if he were *perfectly* master of the English language, and should bring with him a competent knowledge of English law. Then he would require two years in order to turn the application of this to American affairs. Blackstone's 'Commentaries,' of which there is a German translation with

notes, is the first and essential text-book for students of English and American civil law; the public law is simple and soon acquired. For the rest, it cannot be denied, that Paul would have to encounter great difficulties in this career, which yet are not by any means unconquerable. There are a great many, and therefore many poor, lawyers in this country; although those who possess knowledge, sound and quick judgment, and the gift of public speaking, are the most influential men in the country. Among all modes of earning a living, there is only one which secures to the emigrant, in case he brings with him a small property, a certain profit. People of ability and upright intentions may succeed also in any other business, but this depends on many circumstances which cannot be foreseen. Then there is no fixed condition; every thing is in steady progress and advancement. To me and my wife, the coming over of Paul and his family would be a long-wished for pleasure; and he can of course count on every thing in our power to do for him as something certain. Had not the increased illness of my wife obliged us to let our house, and live ourselves as boarders, we might receive them under our own roof. But I hope that the steady, though slow improvement of my wife at present, will enable us, in the course of a year, to return to our former more hospitable arrangements.

"The Arkansas Territory is not so suitable for German emigrants, as other western regions, partly because the climate is for the most part too warm, and especially, because in this Territory, as in the

other Southern States, the slavery of the colored people is recognised by the laws. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan Territory offer greater advantages. I cannot say any thing more definite, until I have some more exact information of the whole plan of emigration; and even then it would be advisable, that one of the emigrants should himself come over and make arrangements for those who are to follow, in which case I could probably be of use to them, though my present engagements would not permit a long absence from Cambridge.

"I pray you, dear mother, to give me information in your next letter of your situation, and what arrangements you have made for yourself. Your letters have always given me the most circumstantial accounts of our family, and I depend on your continuing to write me. I greet you and all friends with cordial love.

"Your faithful son, CHARLES.

"My wife greets you and all the family with hearty love. My little Charles is very well, and thanks you as well as he can for the pretty stockings, which his grandmother has sent him from Germany."

Dr. Follen had often spoken to me of his conviction of his father's peculiar love for him; he fondly cherished this thought; he considered it as an individual personal friendship for him growing out of a peculiar intimacy; his father was incapable of unjust partiality. His mother, in a letter I have lately re-

ceived from her, says, speaking of Charles, "Well was it for his loving father that he went before him, and did not survive the pain of losing his dearest child. Indifferent to every thing at the latter period of his life, Charles, and only Charles, was still the subject of his discourse with us. They are united for ever. Ah, he must have felt joy in Heaven when this spirit ascended to him."

I give in this place a few extracts from the letters of Dr. Follen's father to him.

"*Friedberg, March 20th*, 1825.

"MY DEAREST CHARLES,

"The first news of your departure from the old world, as it was entirely unexpected, almost overwhelmed me; but you had been for so long a time a declared traitor, that you were exposed to all kinds of persecution, until you were beyond their reach. God be praised, therefore, that you have escaped from a part of the world where your opinion is a crime, and are gone to one where different ideas of right are entertained. Let us rejoice, then, you are in America. We here are well, but I have lost so much of my income, that I shall not be able to do much for you. There is, however, according to your letter of January 13th, no need of haste, and I hope, after some time, to be able to do something for you. On the 11th of last May, I sent one hundred and fifty florins to you by the mail. Farewell, and write us sometimes. FOLLENIUS."

"*Friedberg, November 5th*, 1825.

"About a week ago I entered my sixty-seventh year; I share fairly with others. I read and write without spectacles, or difficulty, and, as now, by candle light; and you need not, therefore, consider me as yet superannuated. I flatter myself, therefore, even if it should not take place soon (and I conjure you not to attempt it till you can with perfect safety), that I may see again my best and dearest friend. If it cannot be in this world, which would be transient, then I shall greet you in the other when you come after me, and then I hope we shall remain united. Your loving father, FOLLENIUS."

"*Friedberg, February 25th*, 1826.

"I hear that you have in the new world gained a firmer footing than in the old. You should no longer withhold from us the particulars. Take care to become rich, and then invite us. The expenses of our journey we will bear, which not every one does who migrates from one world to the other. I am your truest friend in this world, and shall remain so in the other also. FOLLENIUS."

"*Friedberg, March 11th*, 1827.

"Your letter of the 19th of December last, arrived here the 6th of this month. Beware, before you are firmly established, of making a visit to your native country, because a letter from A—— to us has been opened, and the seal pressed down again with the thumb, and because you have been publicly declared

a traitor. One thrives in freedom, but not in a prison. We commend you, therefore, to God. We go from here to Darmstadt before four weeks pass; for I have asked for my dismission, and separated myself entirely from Giessen. I stand in relations which endanger my remaining small property, and your brothers and sisters, who are of age, have already renounced their claim of inheritance. You will do the same, and send me the proper document. As to the rest, I am your father. I have lost all power of motion, so that for half a year I have not left the neighbourhood of the house. I can scrape together the means of the journey to you, but you will have to take care of the necessary support on the spot. Is this possible? The longing after you is not confined to me, but extends to my wife and Augusta. Let them, therefore, be thought of as I am. Farewell.

"Your father."

"*Bessungen, July 28th*, 1829.

"We see, in the 'Morgenblatt,' that you have abandoned the law, and studied theology with great zeal. Augustus had written, that you are happily married. We are very glad to have now received news from yourself, though more than a year old. You have not asked my consent to your marriage; I correct your omission by my fatherly approbation, and enjoin upon you, as a filial duty, to give our cordial love to your wife, and assure her of a friendly reception into our high family.

"However disinclined I am to travel, yet I should

come to meet you with my wife, if I could bring it about, in this new world. I consider it dangerous for you to come to us. This is hard, because I have no one in the old or new world, who is so dear a friend to me as you. Be committed to the care of God, my dear Charles. FOLLENIUS."

"*Heppenheim, August 25th*, 1830.

"That your letter of many dates, so precious to us, has not been answered, although it arrived in March, is owing to my reluctance to write. Your letter of April 12th, which arrived to-day, announces happy news. Your little son is standing in grace (as the old soldiers in Giessen, who receive no pay, say), but gets nothing; it is merely a matter of honor. We moved six weeks ago, and are well, and well pleased. In Darmstadt none can be found who will paint my picture; they fear the displeasure of Mr. Van A——, because they consider me a poor orphan, a demagogue.* In October I shall be seventy years old, and, as some admonitions have preceded, I wish that, on account of what I may leave, there may be no legal difficulties. Augustus and Paul have renounced their claim, and you will send me your renunciation, as you know that I defraud no one, and, least of all, you. Farewell, with your worthy wife.

"FOLLENIUS."

"Your letter, which arrived to-day, dearest

*This was said in mere sport; he was never willing to have his picture taken.

Charles, in which you announce that the highest and most blessed joys of a father are yours, has caused us great happiness. The beautiful hair, which is as soft as silk, shall be secured in a frame, and be put under glass, and be the ornament of our parlour.

"Your faithful Mother, L. F."

The physician had said, that I must travel, and that I must not return to the cares of housekeeping. It was necessary, as Dr. Follen mentions in his letter to his mother, that our house should be let. He had to take down his books from their shelves in his pleasant study, to bid farewell to his comfortable house, his nice garden, his beautiful home; to leave all his duties in Cambridge, and put another person in his place. We had to part with the young friends who had boarded with us, and with my sisters, and set out in pursuit of an object so uncertain as the restoration of my health. All this he did with an unfailing cheerfulness. He never uttered a regret. Then I began fully to comprehend the heights and depths of his disinterestedness; self seemed to be the only thing he never thought of.

One friend, who heard that the physician had said, that I must travel, and who knew that my husband could not afford such an expense, sent us a horse; and Dr. and Mrs. Channing invited us to come immediately to their house at Newport. These acts of kindness made a deeper impression on his mind than all his personal privations. He carried me in his arms out of our pleasant house, for I could not walk

without great difficulty, and said, with a smile on his face as we drove off, "I shall bring you home well, and some time or other we shall all come back again to our own house."

Dr. Follen never allowed himself to dwell upon the past. The present with its duties, and the future with its hopes, he would say, are all we have to do with. His mind immediately fixed upon the pleasures and advantages of the intimate intercourse we should enjoy with the dear friends we were going to visit; and no one, who had seen him when he was leaving his house, that was soon to go into the hands of strangers, would have suspected that he was suffering under any evil, or making any sacrifice. We had not gone far, before his spirits began to rise as if he already enjoyed the success of his efforts. In spite of the depressive nature of my disease, even I began to hope. Despondency could not live in his presence. He was right; my health improved. The hours we passed that summer with our friends were among the happiest of our lives. It was one of our pleasures, in after times, to talk of them. After a visit of a few weeks, I was much stronger, and we took lodgings in Newport, not far from Dr. Channing's residence.

CHAPTER XIV.

Letter to Mr. M'Kay. — Correspondence with Dr. Bowring. — He returns to Cambridge. — Joins the Anti-Slavery Society. — The Corporation decline continuing his Professorship. — Plan of "The Boston Seminary." — Letters to Mr. Dana.

WHILE we were at Dr. Channing's, Dr. Follen supplied the pulpit at Fall River, a town about fifteen miles distant from Newport. One Sunday, a violent thunderstorm commenced just as it was time for him to set off on his return. A part of the road was unsafe in the dark. The cloud was near; the danger was great. The hour came for him to return, but he did not come. We knew from the sound, that the lightning had struck not far from us; it was a terrible storm. I knew he was out in it all. My friends said he would not come in such weather. I knew he would; for I knew he would not think of danger to himself when others were suffering. After many long hours of agonizing anxiety, when it was near midnight, we heard his horse's feet, and he came in all unhurt, and with an expression in his face, that seemed to set all storms at defiance. "Why did you come through such a terrible storm?" I said. "I feared," he replied, "that you would think something had happened to me, if you did not see me." His friends

had urged him not to come. There was a narrow causeway to pass, with deep water on both sides of it. The lightning was tremendous; a number of people were struck. He had missed his way, for he only saw by the lightning flashes; it was a great danger that he was in. He thought afterwards he had done wrong, and said, he should not do such a thing again; but at the time he only thought of those he had left behind him, and of their actual suffering from anxiety. I have related this, to show his habit of thinking only of others.

In September we went to Philadelphia, where we passed a month at my brother's house. Here Dr. Follen renewed his acquaintance with some very interesting men, whom he had formerly met in this city upon his first arrival in the country; and here he also formed some new and valuable friendships. He did not attempt to write; he gave himself up to society, and enjoyed it highly. While we were at Philadelphia, he heard of the very sudden death of the wife of one of his friends. He immediately wrote to him. Sad experience has given me the right to speak of the irresistible power of this letter. When I first made the attempt to commence my holy task of arranging my husband's papers, the copy of this letter, by his own hand, was the first I opened. Through this he seemed to speak to me, and through it I gathered strength to live and to act. I feel it would be wrong not to communicate it for the sake of those, who may be so unhappy as to stand in need of the consolation it offers.

"*Philadelphia, October 2d*, 1832.

"My dear Friend,

"It is but lately, while on a journey with Mrs. Follen, who is recovering from protracted illness, that I have heard through Mr. G. T——, of the great loss you have suffered. And, young as our acquaintance is, you will not misprize the motive that makes me wish to date the beginning of my correspondence from an event, which will ever be to you as sacred as it is painful.

"I know that words can do little to express, and that even the warmest sympathy of another is too poor to give, what a heart deprived of its best treasure most intensely longs for. The loss of our dearest friends leaves us homeless in a deep solitude. Still, to the lonely spirit, even the unknown accents of a stranger may seem like the voice of a familiar friend, and may do something toward making us sensible of what still remains to us of enduring possession and inspiring hope. I would not, even if I had time or power to make the attempt, say any thing with a view to render your sorrow less lasting. It is the enduring nature of true sorrow, that forms the connexion between time and eternity; it is the burden of its divine appointment to induce us to seek in heaven, that which we have lost on earth. True sympathy with those, who have been called upon to sorrow, does not lead us to advise the afflicted to drown in pursuits of pleasure or in worldly occupation the burning pain; but rather to keep it holy, and to cherish it as a purifying flame, ascending from the

altar within. All we can do and ought to do, is to confine our regret to its legitimate ground. The first surprise of overwhelming pain makes us look upon that as a loss, an absolute, irretrievable loss, which a more mature reflection on the real cause of our sorrow shows us to be a separation, a temporary privation, kindly intended to prepare us for the greater bliss of reunion for all eternity.

"We shall return to Cambridge in the course of a week, and I shall be very glad to receive from you, as soon as you feel disposed, some lines giving me an account of the progress of the cause of truth and freedom in your part of the country.

"Yours very truly,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

During his visit to Philadelphia, Dr. Follen also wrote a letter to Dr. Bowring, which he has been so kind as to send me, with that which he wrote to him when he sent him a copy of his Eulogy of Spurzheim. Some passages from this correspondence may be interesting. Dr. Follen's first letter, to which Dr. Bowring alludes in his, is missing.

"*Paris, January 10th*, 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have been absent from London about two months, and it is here that I receive your kind letter. It is doubly interesting by its reference to your exertions and your trials in the past, and to your increasing usefulness for the future. Perhaps despotism has

done no greater service to mankind than by its persecutions. A man must have created around him a circle impregnated with a spirit like his own, before he excites the attention, or alarms the fears, of those who hate improvement. They drive him forth, instructed and strengthened by the waters of suffering, to proselytize anew in some other sphere; adding to his power all the interest and sympathy, which dwell around the martyr. And, Sir, we have the consolation of knowing, — we who are upon the stream, and have been shaken by the winds and the waves, — that the mighty tide of tendency rolls on, — rolls on, and mightier still; and that it can no more be turned backward by fraud or force, than can Niagara by a lie or a bayonet.

"On my return to London, in a few days, I shall read, and, I have no doubt, with much delight and instruction, the books you are so kind as to send me. I beg to assure you, that I shall deem it a privilege to be favored with your correspondence, and to be made in any way useful to you. I like, whenever I can, to add another link to the chain of friendly affections, and especially a transatlantic one. For we are greatly delighted to turn, — we, I mean, whose brotherism is stronger than our patriotism, and whose philanthropy warmer than our nationality, — to turn from this old world of wrongs, and doubt, and strife, and despotism, to your young garden of prosperity and liberty, whose plants are so strong, and so green, and so hopeful, promising flowers and fruits the fairest that mortal culture dares anticipate.

"Pray recall me, and most affectionately, to the remembrance of Dr. Channing and Mr. H. Ware. Send us to Europe abundant supplies of such Americanisms. Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Yours very sincerely,

"JOHN BOWRING.

"DR. CHARLES FOLLEN."

"*Cambridge, December 31st*, 1832.

"DEAR SIR,

"Allow me to introduce to you a young friend of mine, Mr. D——, a native of Boston, who is desirous of the honor of your acquaintance. He is going to spend some years in Europe, to gain information of interesting men, institutions, and manners, in order to prepare himself for greater usefulness in his native land. Any advice you may give him to aid him in his generous pursuit, will be gratefully received by him, and acknowledged by me as a favor.

"Mr. D—— will hand you a copy of my Eulogy of the late Dr. Spurzheim, which I beg you to accept. You will see that my chief aim in this performance has been, to record what I knew of his life and character, which, considering the short time I had for preparation, must be very defective, particularly with regard to his history previous to his coming over to this country. Whether his peculiar doctrines have made or will make many converts, is a matter of doubt. But his active mind has given a new impulse to philosophical observation in this country, which cannot but prove beneficial; and his character

and manners have called forth, not only a strong personal regard and friendship for him, but more enlarged feelings of philanthropy like his own.

"You have probably received before this time the new volume of sermons, which our friend, Dr. Channing, has given to the world. Sickness has prevented him from giving to this volume that finish, by which his other works are distinguished; yet there are many, who will enjoy with us the music of the celestial spheres, that revolve in his creative mind. His health is now so far restored, that he converses freely and writes. But I doubt whether it will ever be safe for him to preach.

"The political prospects of the country are somewhat clouded. But it is to be hoped, that the good sense of the people will set to rights the disorder, and banish the demon of misrule, which the selfish interests of the favored sons of society, and their representatives in the general government, have conjured up. But if, against my expectations, the present struggle should end in disunion and civil war, you may be sure that such a result would be owing, not to the republican state of the country, but to the aristocratic element, the leaven of inequality, which still exists in every member of this body politic, and wars against the spirit of freedom. Indeed, the experience of every day shows us, that a republic secures blessings to mankind only so far as it actually exists; I mean, so far as it really acknowledges the equal rights of every individual. There are many in the country, who value the union of the States above

every thing, higher even than the individual rights, the protection of which is the only lawful ground of its existence. This overrating of the union proceeds in some from an honest superstition, (something like a *cidevant* European feeling of awe at the mysterious nature of kings,) which makes them shrink from calculating the value of the union.

"I have but just room left to turn from those among whom there is strife, which of them should be accounted the 'greatest,' to the little ones that are placed in the midst of them. My wife begs you to accept the volume of 'Little Songs,' that has just issued from the press, and joins me in the expression of sincere regard, with which

"I am your friend and servant,

"C. FOLLEN.

"DR. JOHN BOWRING."

"*Bordeaux, April 8th*, 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your kind letter of the last day of the last year found me thus far from home, and thus far removed from the power of giving that welcome to Mr. D——, which will always wait upon any friend of yours, whom you will oblige me by recommending to my attention.

"I had seen, and had read with pleasure, your well deserved Eulogium on our common friend, Spurzheim. The *Fiat observatio* was, as you truly say, his maxim; and, though I cannot but think his enthusiasm led him into fanciful regions, it is most certain,

that he threw streams of light upon phrenological anatomy, and associated his contributions to science with a beneficent philanthropy. Both in France and England your pamphlet has been much read. Dr. Spurzheim had established a sort of *culte*, and his worshippers had made it a part of their religion to call attention to the praises of which he was the object. By his intimate friends he was loved, passionately loved; by a large circle of acquaintances, greatly honored. His letters from the United States are eminently interesting, particularly as they describe the opening of what he deemed a vast field of interest and usefulness. At first he seems to have been perplexed and troubled at his prospects; gradually the atmosphere cleared around him, and he anticipated for himself a glorious destiny in your land.

"I rejoice to hear that Dr. Channing's health is mending; he is one of those men whose mind is hung upon heaven with golden cords, and whose thoughts vibrate between what is pure below and sublime above. You will see, by the enclosed, something of my doings here. Yours very sincerely,

"JOHN BOWRING.

"DR. CHARLES FOLLEN."

"*Philadelphia, October 10th*, 1833.

"DEAR SIR,

"I beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. P. N——, a gentleman of Philadelphia, with whom I have become acquainted during a short residence in this city. He will prove to you a very in-

teresting acquaintance, on account of the information he is able to give concerning the state of things on this side of the Atlantic; and particularly on account of the warm interest and active part he has taken in the great question of free trade, which still agitates and divides the country.

"You have learned from the public prints how the contest between free trade and restriction, which threatened the union of these States, has been settled in favor of freedom. The success of the Carolina cause, though carried forward with too much violence, is a valuable evidence of the moral power of a minority, taking their stand on principles of justice, against the encroachments of a majority. The hasty investment of large sums in institutions which required for their support the constant abuse of legislative power, has prompted the capitalists, and their agents, the politicians, to endeavour to change the primitive political creed of the country, of which free trade was an essential article. Many are now recovering from the delusion, which was induced in a great measure by the magic spell of specious names, such as 'the American system,' 'the patriotic principle,' &c. Still, it is astonishing, as well as lamentable, to observe how few, among the advocates of those simple demonstrations of political economy, hold them on a general ground, as principles of philanthropic justice and practical Christianity, applied to the international intercourse of men. Look at the State of South Carolina itself, the devoted champion of free trade, being at the same time the most determined and im-

placable supporter of slavery. On the other hand, in the Northern States, where slavery does not exist, you find, at least among the higher classes, so called, that by far the greater number sympathize with the vested interest of the slave-holder, infinitely more than with the friendless victim of sacrilegious force, the wretched slave.

"There is in the North of this country a decided and even persecuting opposition to the honest anti-slavery efforts of a few martyr spirits. But there is a strong hope, that the glorious example of Great Britain will force the impious or deluded majority of the Southern freemen to carry into execution the first article of the 'Declaration of American Independence,' that 'all men are born free and equal.' During my seven years' residence in this country, I have found but two eminent men, who, for the sake of gaining the coöperation of others for one good object, will not at least connive at their alliance with the evil in some other shape. I mean our friend Dr. Channing, and the editor and commentator of Say, Mr. Clement C. Biddle. It is happy for the people, that their freedom does not depend on their obtrusive leaders, but on the deep sense of their own happiness. We are expecting eagerly your edition of Bentham's 'Science of Morality.' I have lately passed, with my family, three very happy weeks under the hospitable roof of Dr. Channing, in Rhode Island. The island is his birthplace, and all the native powers and graces of his mind seem to flow more unconsciously and freely in that beautiful spot, endeared to him by the

pleasing mystery of early recollections. He thinks of you with great and affectionate interest. I shall soon return to the duties of my office in Cambridge. Whenever you can make use of my residence in this country, or whenever you can spare some minutes, I shall be highly pleased to receive some lines assuring me of the continuance of your kind feelings towards your friend and servant, CHARLES FOLLEN.

"DR. JOHN BOWRING."

"*Paris, August 9th*, 1834.

"MY DEAR SIR,

* * * * *

"I am not surprised at the way you speak of the slavery question. It is, it is indeed, the *opprobrium* of the United States. There is no escape from the palpable, the prominent, the pestiferous fact, that human beings are bought and sold by men who call themselves republicans and Christians. It is thrown in our teeth, it is slapped in our faces, it is branded on our souls, when we talk of your country, and hold up your institutions to admiration and imitation. You must, indeed, labor night and day, at sun-rising and sun-setting, at home and abroad, with the influential above, with the influential below you; you must, indeed, get rid of the infirmities of your commonwealth. Believe me dear Sir,

"Yours very sincerely,

"JOHN BOWRING.

"DR. CHARLES FOLLEN."

Soon after, we returned to our lodgings in Cambridge, and Dr. Follen resumed his place in the College; my health was so far restored, that I ceased to be a source of anxiety to my friends, and was able to return to my customary duties. All pecuniary affairs were particularly disagreeable to Dr. Follen, and I was now able to relieve him from these, and many other cares. My illness had been the cause of great expense. He had been obliged to pay some one to take his place in the College, while he travelled with me. We had found it necessary to borrow money to pay for building our house, and we now found ourselves in debt, and could not see how, with Dr. Follen's small salary, we should pay it, without sacrificing the only property from which we derived any income.

This state of things gave him great uneasiness; he could not endure the thought of owing any man money. I assured him, that by a strict economy we could in time pay off all our debts. I was now more hopeful than he; he tried to rely upon my faith, and to banish all anxiety. But he began to feel the great importance of being assured that his professorship should be continued and made permanent by the corporation, or that some other place in the College should be given him. One of the Corporation in a letter to his brother-in-law, had expressed his hope that it would be made permanent, and Dr. Follen's trustful nature led him to believe that it would be; still he had no absolute promise, and this at times distressed him; but it was only for a moment; he would often say, "All will be right at last, I am sure."

We bound ourselves to the most rigid economy, and hoped for the best. He gave much time and labor this winter to an interlinear translation he was making of Luther's version of the Gospel of St. John. He carefully compared the whole Gospel with the original, and where he found any defect in Luther's translation, he made such alteration as he thought right. He bestowed unwearied labor upon this work, to make it as perfect as possible, hoping that it might be useful to those who were learning German without a teacher.

It was during the summer of 1833, that Dr. Follen turned his attention very earnestly to the writings and doings of the Anti-slavery Society that had then been in existence only one year. Mrs. Childs's "Appeal," which he had read while we were at Dr. Channing's, produced a powerful effect upon his mind, and, some weeks after we returned to Cambridge, he said, one evening, after he had been meditating for some time, "I am thinking of joining the Anti-slavery Society; what do you think of it?" "That you ought to follow the light of your own mind," I replied; "why should you hesitate?" "I know that it will be greatly in the way of my worldly interests." "Very like," I said. "I feel," he replied, "as if I ought to join them." "Then why not do it?" "It is a serious thing to relinquish my worldly prospects altogether; if I join the Anti-slavery Society, I shall certainly lose all chance of a permanent place in College, or perhaps anywhere else. If it were only for myself, I should not be troubled about it, but to involve you and Charles in the evils of real poverty, I shrink from

that." "You have," I said, "sacrificed your country, your home, and all that makes home dear, for the sake of freedom and humanity;—do not think that we are not worthy and able to make the slight sacrifices, which we may be called upon to make in this cause." He joined the Society, and he did so from a devout sense of duty, and after a solemn and prayerful consideration of every objection to so doing. He knew that there were evils belonging to all associations; he never vindicated nor approved of abusive language in the Abolitionists, any more than in their opposers; his nature was as gentle as it was uncompromising; but when a young friend raised this objection to joining the Anti-slavery Society, he replied to him, "I did not feel at liberty to stand aloof from a society, whose only object was the abolition of slavery."

A short time after he joined the Society, he received a letter from the secretary, inviting him to make an address at the coming anniversary. I give his reply.

"*Cambridge, December 26th*, 1833.

"B. C. Bacon, Esq.

"Dear Sir,

"Your letter of the 24th instant, which I received yesterday, is an additional inducement to me to attend the coming anniversary of the New England Anti-slavery Society. The deep interest I feel in the abolition of slavery throughout the world, has made me desirous of becoming more thoroughly acquainted with the plans and the proceedings of your Society,

and for this reason I had determined, before I received your letter, to attend its next general meeting.

"I feel truly grateful to you and the other gentlemen of the committee, for the confidence you have expressed in my sentiments, and for the honor you have conferred upon me by desiring my services on that interesting occasion. But, with the most sincere desire to coöperate with you in this great and holy undertaking, my information on the subject, particularly with regard to the peculiar relations of this country, is still so imperfect, that I do not feel authorized to promise beforehand to make a public address at the first meeting of the Society which I shall attend. I shall take great pleasure in being present as a listener, and a learner, and a warmly sympathizing friend. Yours very respectfully,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

At a meeting of the convention of the American Anti-slavery Society, in January, 1834, Dr. Follen was chosen chairman of a committee to draft an address to the people of the United States upon the subject of slavery. The spirit and style of this address extorted praise even from the enemies of the cause. Copies of it were sent to all the members of Congress, and to all the men of distinction at the South. One copy alone, from this large number, was returned to Dr. Follen, with some insulting words written on the margins, upon the subject of foreigners throwing firebrands, and other stereotyped remarks of the same sort. About this time a very gross attack was made

upon him in one of the Boston papers ; and, lest he should not himself know of it, the paper was sent to him, with the offensive paragraph marked for his particular notice. "This cannot touch me," he said, as he calmly read it, "it is too vulgar." It was in the course of this year, that he assisted in the formation of an anti-slavery society in Cambridge.

Dr. Follen's anxiety with regard to pecuniary concerns, induced him this winter to request the President to allow him to instruct in the College in some branch of learning which he was capable of teaching, and he particularly mentioned the history of the different systems of moral philosophy ; this department was then without any professor ; he well knew that the chair would never be filled by himself ; he only wished, as it was vacant, to be allowed to give lectures to the students ; but this was not thought expedient.

Dr. Follen received repeated warnings, that his interests in the College would be materially injured by his devotion to this hated cause. He was told, that anti-slavery would never be tolerated in Harvard University ; but he did not on that accoumt think it right, neither did he feel disposed, to desert a cause, which he thought of more importance than all others, and in comparison with which, the interests of any individual were a petty concern. "The question," he said, "is, whether this is my duty ; what will be the consequences, is a secondary matter."

His nature, however, was so hopeful, that he always believed, while he could, that the right would prevail ; and he would not, and did not, relinquish the

persuasion, that his devotion to the cause of freedom would be forgiven, and that the College would yet retain him in its service. He never allowed his devotion to the anti-slavery cause to interfere with any of his duties in College; on the contrary, the fear that it might, made him, if possible, more scrupulous than ever in the performance of them all. Of this, there is the most ample testimony.

In a little more than a year, the term of the subscription for the German Professorship would expire, and Dr. Follen felt the importance, in case it was not renewed, of knowing it in season to make some satisfactory provision for himself elsewhere. The subscription, he well knew, had been raised out of personal regard to him, and that the friends who contributed to it had taken it for granted, although there was no promise to that effect, that, if he succeeded in interesting the students in German literature, and the public sentiment was in favor of the professorship, the Corporation would make it permanent, or assign him another place in the College. As far as the students were concerned, his success there had been entire, his classes were always large, and his lecture-room was well attended. He knew that it was not the purpose of his friends to renew their subscription, and, if it had been, he would not have consented to it; he therefore requested his brother-in-law, who was the principal subscriber, to ascertain whether the corporation intended to continue his professorship.

The question was asked, and the answer was, that

the corporation did not think it expedient; and no other arrangement was proposed by which he could be retained in the University. After ten years of faithful service in the College, he was left with five hundred dollars a year as teacher of the German language, if he chose to remain in Cambridge. This was of course an inadequate support for himself and family, and obliged him to seek employment elsewhere; he felt that this was intended. Dr. Follen took this disappointment deeply to heart; many an anxious hour did it cause him; he had hoped, to the last, that the Corporation would not let him go. His heart clung to the University; he loved its hopeful youth; he longed to be their benefactor. He earnestly desired to be a useful servant to the institution. It was true, that he often disagreed with some of its other friends in regard to questions relating to the government of the College. He was an advocate for a more enlarged freedom in the management of the University, in imitation of those in his native land. He placed great reliance upon the influence of a magnanimous trust in the young men; he had faith in the efficacy of an appeal to the higher principles of our nature. He wished to see less outward government in College, and to induce the young men to govern themselves. He thought it but just to believe in the existence of high and noble purposes in them, till they had forfeited this trust by degrading actions. His sense of justice saw no distinctions that were unquestioned, but the eternal distinctions between right and wrong. When justice was in question he

had no favorites, and knew no dislikes. There are many who knew him, who will testify to his fidelity to this principle, even when it obliged him to do violence to his own strong feelings of personal friendship. Still more stern and unhesitating was he when his own interests, and the favor of others towards himself, were in question. But while here, as everywhere, he manifested the character of the reformer, his purpose was to establish right principles, and thus gradually overthrow what was bad in institutions; and he was one of the first to submit to a law, even though he did not approve of it, unless it should call for the violation of the higher law of conscience.

Beside this strong interest in the College, Dr. Follen was attached to Cambridge as a place of residence. The Library was very important to him. We had many dear friends there; it was the place where he had first formed lasting attachments in this country; it was the birthplace of his American home; it was there that he had first rocked the cradle of his child; it was there that he had first heard from him the dear name of father; the faces of its inhabitants were all familiar, and the old trees and the buildings looked to him like old friends. It was hard to seek again a new home, he knew not where; but his heart was too much in Heaven to be long depressed by earthly cares, and he soon began to form plans for the future; *Still onward* was his motto. It was at this time that he drew up the plan of a new literary institution, which he hoped to establish in Boston. Its nature and purpose will be fully explained by the Prospec-

tus, a copy of which will be found appended to this volume. The following letter to Mr. Richard Dana, gives some idea of his plan.

"*Cambridge, September 22d*, 1834.

"DEAR SIR,

"I called at your house this morning to make to you a proposal, which I should have liked to explain more at large in conversation; but, learning that you had gone to pass some time at Newport, I shall mention only the main point in writing, leaving other questions to be settled after your return.

"You have heard, perhaps, that I intend to establish a literary institution, or college, in Boston; where, according to all the information I have been able to collect, such an establishment is wanted. It is intended to embrace all the important branches of a general, classical, and practical education. It is to go into operation only in case sixty scholars can be obtained for it by subscription, at two hundred, or one hundred and seventy-five dollars for the year. If this number can be obtained, Mr. Grund will take the department of Mathematics and the Physical Sciences; Mr. Leverett will take the Classical department; and I shall take History, and Mental and Moral Philosophy, together with instruction in German. The fourth of the four principal departments, English Literature, Composition, and Eloquence, is yet a vacant place in our plan, which no one that I know in this country, is more competent than you to fill.

"We mean to have the principal modern languages taught by natives; and, as our numbers and means increase, to employ subordinate instructors in the other branches. These can be easily found. But it is important, for issuing the prospectus and ascertaining the number of scholars, that we should be sure of four competent men for the principal departments, so that we may begin next January, or, at least, next April.

"Permit me, dear Sir, to express my strong desire and earnest hope, that you will join us in an undertaking, the importance of which, if it succeeds, I need not attempt to set forth.

"Yours respectfully and truly,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

In a second letter to Mr. Dana, Dr. Follen sends a copy of the prospectus and asks his opinion, and urges him to state his objections and make any suggestions. He then states the economical part of the plan, and the steps he has taken to secure the interest of the public in it. I give only the last paragraphs of this letter.

"In the department we wish you to take, English Literature, Composition, and Elocution are of course the essentials. An etymological and philosophical knowledge of the English language is not to be had, I believe, in any of our schools or colleges. Composition and elocution are not made what they ought to be, the most efficient instrument to call forth indi-

vidual powers of mind, to aid the pupil in defining and regulating his thoughts, and to give them natural and correct expression in speech and writing. The whole arrangement of this department will, of course, belong exclusively to you. In teaching History, and Mental and Moral Philosophy, I shall make the young men write, and shall thus have frequent occasion to consult with you, and perhaps lighten your labors. If you should have time and inclination to take the instruction in Geography, at least until we are able to engage an assistant teacher, it would be desirable; as my obligation to teach German, in addition to History, and Mental and Moral Philosophy, will put it out of my power to attend to Geography too.

"We have pledged ourselves to give to instruction in the Seminary, for the first year, six hours every day, which we think more time than should, in the long run, be required of a teacher, considering the time he ought to give to preparation. The name 'Seminary' seemed, for want of a better, at least the most vague and harmless, until the success of the institution might enable us to be incorporated under a name suited to its character.

"I agree with you fully in your remarks about confining the power to those, who are alone competent to employ it, and having no one but the public to influence us in our movements. These are all the particulars, dear Sir, that I can now think of as important for your decision. Yours very respectfully and truly, C. FOLLEN.

"*September 26th*, 1834."

Mr. Dana consented to take the part in the institution, which Dr. Follen so much desired he should; and a large number of copies of the plan of the "Boston Seminary," as it was determined to call it, were printed, and sent to those individuals in the city and its environs, who, it was thought, would be interested in such an undertaking. Some few friends were sanguine in their hope that it would do well, and promised to send their sons, and to give all the aid in their power; and for a while there seemed a prospect that it would succeed. Dr. Follen's heart was much engaged in it. Had his means been sufficient, he would have commenced the work with the few pupils he was sure of, and trusted that in a short time the numbers would increase, and the Seminary recommend itself to public favor. But here his poverty held him back. The project failed, and again he was disappointed.

In the autumn of this year, he was invited to deliver the Address introductory to the Franklin Lectures. This discourse will be found in the present collection of his works. He was much pleased with this invitation; his sympathies were with the people, —with mankind. It was his most earnest wish to see the benefits of education and knowledge extended to every individual of the community. He entered upon this labor with a true delight; it was heart-work with him.

Dr. Follen's republicanism was a reality, as his whole life had manifested; it was simply the result of his Christian faith. The life and the teachings of

Jesus were his standard and guide in politics. He remembered always, to use his own words, "that all those unjust pretensions, and cruel distinctions, by which men are far more separated than by any distance of land and sea, every proud elevation and every servile humiliation among men, must fall before the acknowledged equality of immortal spirits." These opinions he never obtruded, and never withheld when called upon to express them.

A few days after Dr. Follen had delivered his Franklin lecture, he received a strange letter from one of his hearers; its character will be sufficiently shown by his reply.

"*Cambridge, December 6th*, 1834.

"DEAR SIR,

"Numerous engagements have until now prevented me from answering the anonymous letter I received from you about a fortnight ago. You are right in supposing, that the fact of your being 'a laboring man, and possessing a mind that ardently desires knowledge,' would be considered as a sufficient apology for addressing me on a subject, on which no man, who has the happiness of his fellow-men at heart, would require any apology to induce him to impart, as far as his time is not preoccupied by other duties, whatever information he may possess. Allow me to add, that the simple mode of addressing yourself to me as a man to his fellow-man, would have been more grateful to me, more encouraging to a sincere desire to serve you, than your consulting me as a *pro-*

fessional man. I confess, that I cannot reconcile the apparent incongruity, or refrain from suspecting the sincerity of a man's asking information of another, as a professional man, while he believes, that his profession, or 'craft, is founded upon imagination,' and deals in telling 'stories of a false nature,' to 'deceive' the people. These, you recollect, are the terms in which you describe the clerical profession.

"I cannot offer, at present, to go with you over the whole ground of the evidences of religion and a future life. In order to do this, with a reasonable hope of success, I must know first what sort of evidence you require for moral conviction; and as, to judge from your letter, I have not succeeded in explaining to you what I understand by religion, I must first ascertain your idea of it, as well as the doubts you entertain with regard to it. A personal interview would probably enable me to do this within the time that I could devote to it; and if you should desire some conversation with me on this subject, it would give me an opportunity, if not of removing your doubts, at least of convincing you, that you did me injustice in supposing me capable of considering 'a poor infidel as unworthy of attention.'

"At present, I know not what better service I can render you, than that of frankly telling you the impression your letter has made upon me. To judge from it, there is one thing which no other person can do for you, and, without which, the assistance of others can be of little avail to you. You can never come to a settled conviction, either of the truth or

untruth of religion, unless you investigate the subject in the true spirit of free inquiry. You must free your mind from prejudice against as well as for religion. I am sorry to say, that your remarks on that part of my lecture, which treated of this subject, have excited in me the apprehension, that you had not examined it with that freedom and simplicity of mind, without which there is no safety from misconception. If you had raised objections to any of my assertions, I should have been obliged to you for any strictures that might have led me to see or suspect the insufficiency of my argument; but you impute to me sentiments, which that whole portion of my lecture was intended to refute. However I may have failed in my most earnest desire to convey what I thought to be simple truth, in the simplest language, I cannot explain this misapprehension of the whole character and tendency of my remarks, in any other way than by supposing, that, as soon as the subject of religion was mentioned, you connected with it all the attributes of superstition and bigotry, which you thought to be its essential features; and considered all my remarks to the contrary, either as unworthy of attention, or as intended to disguise the reality. You impute to me the intention to 'stop the spirit of free inquiry, that is fast gaining ground among the working classes,' because it 'attacks the foundation of the clerical craft,' because I fear that this spirit will so enlighten the people as to prevent their being duped any longer by stories about another world, &c.

"Now it was a leading object in my lecture to en-

courage free inquiry, to show that we cannot come to a settled conviction of religion and a future life, unless we carry this principle of intellectual action to its utmost extent. Whether the spirit of free and faithful inquiry leads, as you think, to unbelief, or, as I think, to religion, is a question which cannot be decided by argument. But when I assert, that I look to free inquiry as the only way to the truth, you surely have no right to impute to me the illiberal intention to stop it.

"You say, also, that I endeavoured to prove the truth of religion by its supposed utility, and by a comparison with astronomy. Both these assertions are unfounded, as you will perceive from a perusal of my lecture, when it is published, as desired by the Committee of the Society, at whose request it was delivered.

"You ask me, whether 'I can show the least positive proof of a future existence.' I answer, that, to me, the external and internal evidences of Christianity, supported as they are by the independent testimony of nature, particularly of the constitution of the human mind, are sufficient to enable me, at any time, deliberately to lay down my life for what I conceive to be the true interest of the immortal soul. I believe, that the innate capacity and longing of the mind for ever-increasing knowledge, and ever-extending, self-sacrificing benevolence, constitute as sure an indication of its destination for endless progress, as the organization of the lungs for breathing, the eye for seeing, and the ear for hearing.

"I do not intend, at present, to enlarge upon these evidences, but am willing to do so whenever you show me, that you have faithfully examined and weighed them, and that you sincerely desire my assistance in the course of your free inquiry.

"Respectfully,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

CHAPTER XV.

Dr. Follen preaches at East Lexington. — He resigns his Office as Teacher of the German Language in Harvard College. — Removes to Watertown. — Takes charge of some Pupils. — Letter to Dr. Jackson. — He removes to Milton. — His Interest in the Anti-slavery cause. — Letters to Harriet Martineau.

It was during this winter, that Dr. Follen was requested, by some individuals in East Lexington, to preach there, and assist them in the formation of a religious society in the village. Till that time, there had been but one society in Lexington; but the remoteness of the church, it being more than two miles from this part of the town, made it impossible for many of the inhabitants to attend public worship; and there were fifty or sixty families, that were, on this account, obliged to remain at home on Sunday, who desired to attend public worship. The Rev. Mr. Briggs, the minister of the old church, was to be absent for the winter, and all the neighbouring clergymen, whom they had asked to preach for them at the village, had objected, on the plea that Mr. Briggs would not be pleased that another society should be formed in the town.

Dr. Follen had preached for Mr. Briggs, and he

felt persuaded he was too just a man to wish to prevent a number of people, under such circumstances, from forming a religious society, and enjoying the advantages of public worship, if they wished it. He thought, too, that the people had an unquestioned right to decide upon such a question for themselves; and, although he was told that other clergymen had refused to go to them, he went; thus it was he who first gathered this society together. His opinion of Mr. Briggs was well founded; he was very friendly towards him when he returned, never expressing to him the slightest dissatisfaction with the part he had taken, and always manifesting a deep and affectionate interest in the welfare of the society.

Dr. Follen was pleased at finding among the people that fresh and hearty interest in religion, which a society newly formed, and formed in spite of obstacles, usually manifests. They, too, were pleased with his preaching, and put their pulpit under his charge, urging him to preach, himself, as often as possible, and, when he could not, to send some one whom he should approve. This he readily agreed to; and it was from that time a favorite wish with him, that this little society should form a church upon a new and better foundation than any that yet existed, one more truly deserving the name of a Christian church.

As it was Dr. Follen's determination not to remain in the College merely as a German teacher, upon a salary of five hundred dollars, he sent the following letter to the President.

"*Cambridge, 22d January*, 1835.

"DEAR SIR,

"In my last conversation with you on the subject of my connexion with the University, you mentioned, that if I intended to leave the institution, it would be desirable, that the Corporation should know my determination as soon as possible, in order to make provision for the branch of instruction intrusted to me. I have thought it best, therefore, to repeat, in an official manner, what I said to you some time ago, that ever since you communicated to Mr. S. Cabot, the desire of the Corporation not to continue the Professorship of German Literature from the funds of the College, I had determined to resign my office as German Instructor, as soon as I could find some employment, that would support myself and family, and to give reasonable notice of my purpose, to the Corporation. I shall continue to perform the duties of my office during the remainder of this present College year.

"I take the liberty of recommending the appointment of Mr. F. Gräter, as my successor in the office of German Instructor. I know of no person, of whose thorough knowledge of the German language and literature, as well as skill and patient industry in teaching, I have such unquestionable evidence, as of Mr. Gräter's. Several times, when I have been necessarily absent, Mr. Gräter has, with the leave of the Corporation, filled my place, and the progress of the students under his instruction, has established, beyond doubt, his eminent qualification for the office.

"In requesting the Corporation to accept my resignation, I beg leave to express the satisfaction I have derived from their approbation of my services, as German Instructor, during the nine years that I have been connected with the College in this capacity, as well as from the success of my labors with the students. The average number of those who have chosen the study of the most difficult of the modern languages, is now, and has been for several years, from fifty to sixty, and it gives me pleasure to add, that they have never, in one instance, given me any cause of complaint.

"Will you have the kindness to lay this letter before the Corporation.

"I have the honor to be

"Yours very respectfully,

"C. FOLLEN."

In the March following, the President transmitted to him the vote of the Corporation, accepting his resignation of his office of teacher of the German language; the Professorship of German literature was of course at an end when the subscription terminated, which was raised entirely by private individuals.

I give a copy of the vote of the Corporation.

"At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, held on the 25th of March, 1835,

"A letter from Dr. Follen was read, resigning his office of Instructor in the German language, after the present term; whereupon

"Voted, that his resignation be accepted.

"Voted, that Professor Ticknor be requested to recommend a suitable person to be employed as Instructor in the German language until next Commencement, in the place of Dr. Follen, resigned."*

There were moments during this winter, when Dr. Follen suffered great anxiety with regard to his future prospects; but he was never habitually depressed. The great subjects of general interest, the progress of religion, the cause of humanity, or a lively conversation with a friend, and, more than all, the merry sports of his boy, could always drive away the clouds of personal care. His great distress was, that we were in debt, and, with all his willingness to work, no way lay open before him of earning the means to pay it. One day he had been expressing to me what he suffered on this account, and speaking of his disappointments in Cambridge; he was unusually depressed; while we were talking, he received a letter from his brother-in-law, stating the wish of the guardians of Mr. James Perkins's sons, that he would take charge of their education. The proposals that were made to him were very liberal; every thing was promised, that could make the office desirable and agreeable to him. He was to stand in the place of father as well as teacher to the boys; we were to take them into our family; a house was to be

* Mr. Bokum was afterwards appointed teacher of the German language; but there is still no professorship of German literature in the College.

provided for us; every thing to enable us to live comfortably was to be furnished us; and all our household expenses were to be supplied. In addition to this, Dr. Follen was to receive a salary of two thousand dollars a year, for devoting his time exclusively to the instruction of the boys. This not only opened to him important duties, and gave him a comfortable home, but it also offered him the means of paying his debts, and thus of setting his mind at ease with regard to pecuniary concerns. It was very desirable to him, for he could not endure the thought of owing any man money; but before he accepted the proposal, he thought it right to make known explicitly his views with regard to the proper foundation of such a connexion, and the conditions upon which he could conscientiously undertake such a charge. These views he expressed fully in the following letter to their guardian, Dr. Robbins.

"*Cambridge, March 11th*, 1835.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have carefully reflected on your letter, as well as on our previous conversation with regard to your wards, whom you propose to place under my immediate charge. Having now your definite proposition before me, I will state to you my views with that perfect frankness, which the confidence that you have reposed in me, as well as the nature of the duty you wish me to engage in, demands.

"Let me first repeat what I have already expressed to you, that I most fully appreciate the elevated motives and enlarged views, which guide you in en-

deavouring to provide for the intellectual and moral training of your wards, and in the very liberal offer which you have made me. I concur in all the essentials of the mode of education which you have devised for them, and shall be glad to devote to them all my powers, if I can make my views harmonize with yours on some points which I wish to offer to your consideration.

"I observed to you, that, before you came to see me, I had a conversation on this subject with Colonel Perkins, before his departure. From this conversation, I received the general impression, which your observation afterwards confirmed, that it was the intention and desire of all who were interested, to secure to these sons of Mr. J. Perkins all the means of improvement and enjoyment which a regular course of instruction, together with the influence of a happy home, and the refinements of society, could afford.

"Impressed with this view, I thought if I undertook the superintendence of their education, that I should but very imperfectly fulfil my obligation, if I were merely to fit them for college, and keep them out of harm's way. I should feel bound to educate them not only for college, but for life; I should study their natures, awake every dormant energy, cherish every generous sentiment, and lead them to form such habits and tastes as would qualify them to act an honorable part in those relations of life, which they would be called upon to sustain. I should endeavour, not only to furnish them with general information, but to discover any individual talent and taste, that, by

proper cultivation, might give to their pursuits in after life a decided direction to some practical object. For I believe, that, to a young man called to the possession of wealth, there is no temptation so great, as that which arises from having no decided object in life, no pursuit that occupies his mind in his many hours of leisure. To effect this purpose, a residence in Boston during the greater part of the time previous to their becoming permanently connected with college, seemed to me preferable to one in the country; chiefly because the city affords greater resourses and means of social and intellectual improvement than the country, where the advantages of society cannot be procured without effort, expense, loss of time, and some exposure. The peculiar advantages which the city affords, can be connected with the pleasures of home. In the country the boys must be sent to society; in the city society may be brought to them. We know that children cannot be taught to avail themselves of the benefits, and to avoid the dangers, of society; unless they be educated among those particularly, with whom they are most likely to associate in after life. The power of choosing their companions, which must be acquired early, is particularly important to boys that are destined for college. This consideration, together with the opportunity of a constant intercourse with their relations, and of acquiring such accomplishments as they may be capable and desirous of obtaining, seemed to recommend a fixed residence in Boston, with the exception of the few summer months, during which a temporary, and not expensive, arrangement in the country would be preferable.

"I feel persuaded, that you appreciate the motive which makes me lay stress upon this point, not as a matter of choice, but as a part of the most promising plan of education I could devise, without which I feel less assured of success, and of course less responsible for the result. Still, it is possible, that a familiar acquaintance with the character of the boys, may convince me, that a retired education in the country, secluded from continual intercourse with their relations and companions, is better suited to them. At any rate, I think with you, that it is best not to commence at this season of the year in Boston. But if, after some months' residence in the country, I should still be of opinion, that the boys would be benefited by spending the winter in the city, I feel as if a refusal of this my desire, would be impairing my power of benefiting them as much as I might, and consequently lessening my responsibility for the result. Unless, therefore, my present views should be changed by further consideration, I must deem it essential to the success of my plan, that you should extend your confidence in the singleness of my intention to promote the best interests of these boys, and my capacity to judge of the mode of education best adapted to them, so far as to grant me power to decide this point. I feel assured, that my decision would be founded on reasons suggested by experience, which, as we are prompted by the same interest, would lead both you and me to the same result.

"I agree with you in thinking it desirable, that the two eldest boys should enter college a year from next

Commencement. But after they shall have entered, it may appear safer, and more profitable to them, that they should not live in Cambridge, but pursue, out of college, the studies of the class which they have joined, under my private tuition. The latter course would be more laborious to me; but if experience, and a thorough acquaintance with the character of the boys, should convince me that it is best for them to be kept out of college till their Sophomore or Junior year, I feel assured that you will consent to my pursuing my own method in carrying them forward in their studies.

"If I understand rightly the relation that you wish me to assume toward these boys, it is not that of a master under authority, but as much as possible that of a parent. While under my charge, they must not be induced to look up to a higher authority than mine, but be required by you to comply with my directions; with implicit confidence, that I shall desire of them only what my duty to them bids me to demand. I desire no more, and no other authority, than such as seems indispensable to the performance of my duties. These duties are such as to require a constant confidential understanding between you and me, which will make it not only agreeable, but highly important to me to be able continually to recur to your advice, and in all things to consult your wishes.

"You say in your letter, 'As to personal convenience, and fulfilment of my duties, it would promote my own designs to make this establishment under the superintendence of an individual, who would also un-

dertake the charge of my other boy, Marshall.' It gives me pain to repeat what I said to you when this additional arrangement was first proposed. I think I could discharge my duties to the three other boys more fully, if I have them entirely by themselves; and that it is for their best interest, that I should not undertake the care and responsibility of the education of any other. I feel assured, that, even if you had less confidence in my motives than you have shown me, the obvious fact, that by not acceding to this proposition, I sacrifice a pecuniary advantage, in addition to the pain I must feel at refusing any wish of yours, would convince you, that nothing but a sense of duty, and an anxious desire to do the best I can for the three brothers, could induce me to decline this proposal. You add, that 'any disability on my part in this particular will not affect the other arrangement, provided all other things shall conspire to a prosperous consummation of your designs.' Allow me to say, that, if there be any other arrangement by which you think you may promote equally well the interest of the three sons of Mr. Perkins, and which will combine also your own designs with regard to your son Marshall, I beg you to make it without any reference to me. For, though I feel the strongest desire to accept your very advantageous offer, and consequently great unwillingness to give up a sphere of usefulness, which you have opened to me, and although the superintendence of the education of these boys has now become a favorite project with me, I should not allow any steps that have been taken for

this purpose, or my own interests and wishes, to interfere with any other plan, which you, as a friend and guardian of these children, may devise for their good.

"I entirely acquiesce in your views of the importance of accounts, in the disbursement of moneys, and of the principles which should regulate their appropriation, as well as in the necessity of a just economy. In this, as in other things, as you yourself say, you must confide in me, and I in you. The liberal salary you offer me, enables me to devote myself wholly to a charge, in the successful performance of which all my personal interests must be engaged.

"I have thought it my duty to state to you, without reserve, my views on the principal points on which my success in this undertaking seems to me to depend. I have expressed myself the more earnestly, as a failure on my part would be attended with an injury to my reputation, and mortification to my feelings, for which no pecuniary advantage that could be offered, would be an adequate compensation.

"If, after this explanation of my views and wishes, you feel satisfied that they sufficiently conform to yours, I shall be ready and glad to commence the undertaking as early as the middle of April.

"Your friend and servant,

"CHARLES FOLLEN.

"DR. ROBBINS."

Dr. Follen's views and wishes were kindly met by the guardian of the boys, and every thing was done to render his office as easy and agreeable to him as

possible. He immediately made such arrangements for the performance of his duties, for the remainder of his college engagement, as were satisfactory; and we removed on the 1st of April to Watertown, where we were soon prepared to receive our new inmates. His pupils were obedient, affectionate, and happy, and they and their teacher were mutually pleased with each other.

We had left very disagreeable lodgings, and we were now in a delightful house, which, for the time, we might call our own. To us, who had felt much inconvenience from our narrow accommodations, and from the many petty evils of poverty, the freedom and comparative luxury of our present mode of life were a great enjoyment. Again Dr. Follen unpacked and arranged his papers and books to his liking, in a fine large apartment devoted to the purposes of a study for himself and his pupils; this was a privilege he had not enjoyed for nearly two years. Again hope took its legitimate place in his heart. I would not give the idea that he had been unhappy during this period; moments, nay, long hours, of deep anxiety he certainly experienced, but he soon cast it off; the foundations of his peace were immovable; an unutterable serenity seemed to be the element in which his soul dwelt; his cheerfulness was unfailing. All the minor and comparatively insignificant cares of life took their right place in his presence; the spirit of complaint stood rebuked before him; joy, a pure joy, full of faith and hope and immortality, pervaded his whole being, and communicated itself to those who

had the privilege of living with him and of being loved by him. Yet there were few men, who had a keener relish for all the smaller pleasures of life than he; all its refinements, even in trifles, were prized by him. When I have asked him, upon seeing how much he enjoyed such things, how it was that he never expressed any desire for them, he answered, "I forget such trifles when they are out of sight; our happiness has nothing to do with them."

Dr. Follen entered upon his duties to his pupils, as he had said in his letter to their guardian, with a purpose, not merely to keep them out of harm's way and fit them for college, but to discover the means of educating them for the highest happiness and largest usefulness, that their natures and circumstances allowed. Fearing that his knowledge of the elementary part of mathematics, from long neglect, might not be quite adequate, he took, for a short time, a teacher for himself to refresh his memory in this branch. He put his whole soul into the work he had undertaken. He hoped so to unfold the intellects of his pupils, so to guide their actions, so to store their memories, so to win their hearts, and so to rouse their will and raise their thoughts, as to lead them on to the highest excellence that they were capable of attaining. He would often say to me, "If I can succeed in making these boys, who possess such great means of usefulness, what I would have them to be, I shall feel that I have done something of importance in the world, something worth living for."

A letter, which Dr. Follen wrote to Dr. Jackson

this summer, in acknowledgment of his kindness in presenting him with two copies of the 'Memoir' of his son, will, I think, be read with interest.

"*Watertown, June 27th*, 1835.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have delayed thanking you for your beautiful present until a faithful perusal of the volume should enable me to appreciate its whole value. It is, indeed, the most appropriate and honorable monument, that paternal affection could have raised to filial piety, intellectual industry, and moral purity. Your account of the life of your son is to me a new confirmation of what I have more than once observed, that the strongest affection, the greatest love, dazzles and blinds only a selfish disposition, while it makes a generous mind more clear-sighted with regard to individual defects, as well as excellences, in the object of our attachment.

"I am sure no one can read that 'Memoir,' and the letters of James, without admiring his character, and the indefatigable zeal with which he devoted himself to his profession, not merely with a view to fit himself for the practice, but to advance the science, of medicine. His ardent love of knowledge, his conscientious, disinterested, and self-sacrificing devotion to his great pursuit, are manifested in all his conduct and letters, and most signally in his noble resolution to remain in Paris at the time of the cholera. I consider it as one of the most happy occurrences in your son's life, that he found, in his teacher

in Paris, a man that would not confine himself to general instruction, but one that had eyes to see the individual talent and tendency of his mind, that pointed out the path in which he was fitted by nature to excel. And it was equally creditable to his own discernment, not to mistake his true calling, but to devote himself chiefly to observation.

"If I look upon your letter to James, when on the point of leaving this country, and upon his letters to you from abroad, I see in them a rich return for the precious seed you had sown; a solid preparation for a course of improvement, which death has only transferred to a higher sphere, as well as a never failing source of consolation for your disappointed hopes.

"I shall make use of the two copies you have sent me, in the spirit of your purpose in compiling the work, particularly by putting it into the hands of young men devoting themselves to liberal and professional pursuits. I do not know of a more affecting and encouraging example for them, than the life of your son.

"With my warmest thanks for your very kind and highly valuable present, I remain, dear Sir,

"Your friend and servant,

"CHARLES FOLLEN.

"DR. J. JACKSON."

Soon after we moved to Watertown, Dr. Follen received from a number of his late pupils in Harvard University, a complete and very handsome set of the works of Jean Paul Richter, which they begged him

to accept as a proof of their respect and of their grateful affection. I give his reply.

"*Watertown, July 18th*, 1835.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I have received the beautiful present of my late pupils in Harvard University; and, as it was through you, Gentlemen, that this precious token of their friendship has been forwarded to me, I would ask you, in return, to receive yourselves, and express to them, my most hearty thanks. Your present is, indeed, so valuable in itself, that nothing could enhance it but the affectionate kindness of those who gave it, united to the remembrance of ten years of academic instruction, rendered easy, and interesting, and dear to me, by the faithful application, the gentlemanly conduct, and grateful attachment of my pupils.

"If my humble endeavours to make you acquainted and familiar, not only with the letter, but with the quickening spirit of German literature, have been blest with some degree of success; if the patient industry, the fearless and profound reasoning, the spiritual longings and unbounded aspirations of German historians, philosophers, and poets, have awakened in your youthful minds kindred thoughts and desires, then let me address to you the noble admonition, which Schiller, in his 'Don Carlos,' puts into the mouth of Posa, as a dying bequest to his young friend Carlos, intrusted to the pure soul of his mother; — 'Tell him, that, when become a man, he shall reverence the dreams of his youth, that he shall not

open his heart, the tender, divine flower, to the deathly insect of boasted, superior wisdom; that he shall not be led astray, when the wisdom of the dust blasphemes Inspiration, the daughter of Heaven.'

"If you fulfil this command of the poet, the saying of him, whose works you have chosen as a token of your friendship for me, will be verified in you;—the 'remembrance of the most beautiful hours of life will become to you the richest source of consolation for the last.'

"Accept the assurance of grateful regard and sincere friendship, with which I remain yours,

"CHARLES FOLLEN.

"MR. G. BEMIS,
"MR. J. T. G. NICHOLS,
"MR. F. HUIDEKOPER,
"MR. NATHAN HALE, JR."

No man ever enjoyed such testimonials of affection more heartily than Dr. Follen. As he put up these beautiful books on the shelves, he frequently *repeated*, "This was a pretty thing in my young men. These books are very precious to me. I shall *love* to look at them." Ostentatious presents were intolerable to him; but such tokens of respect and affection as this, he prized highly, and he expressed his pleasure with a childlike heartiness and simplicity.

It was in this summer, under his own roof, that his friendship with Harriet Martineau commenced; a friendship, that never suffered even the common fluctuations of friendship, but which strengthened and

deepened with time and knowledge, and became one of the choicest blessings of our lives. The summer was an eminently happy one. No time can obliterate the remembrance of the blessed hours we then enjoyed.

In the autumn it was deemed expedient by the guardian and the mother of the boys, that, instead of going into town, we should remove to Milton, where a more comfortable house could be obtained for the winter. Dr. Follen entirely acquiesced, though it was contrary to his original plan; but circumstances, which cannot all be explained, had occurred to satisfy his mind, that, at the end of the year, he ought to relinquish his charge. The mother of the boys, who, at the commencement of this undertaking, was quite ill, had now entirely recovered her health, and of course, as was right and proper, chose to resume her control over her sons. He was satisfied, that the influence of a divided authority was injurious to the minds of the children; and, although the guardians of the boys urged him to retain his charge, his nice sense of right could not be satisfied with the situation in which he was now placed. Painful as it was, we thought it would be our duty to part.

Dr. Follen, in his letter to Colonel Perkins announcing his determination to relinquish the charge of his nephews, gives him an account of his mode of educating them, which passage I transcribe.

"From the time that I undertook the care of the boys, I endeavoured to make myself thoroughly ac-

quainted with the character, the capacity, and the attainments of each, and to regulate my mode of instruction and discipline accordingly. I had first to counteract the effects of a system, under which the two older boys had acquired a strong distaste for study, and a want of confidence in their instructor. I believe Mrs. Follen and myself have succeeded in gaining the confidence of the boys, in a higher degree, than we could have expected in a much longer time. We have, I hope, implanted in them a contempt for all manner of concealment, by imposing only such rules as their own moral sense approved, and enforcing them with undeviating justice; by a ready sympathy with all their concerns and wants, and a hearty desire to gratify all their legitimate and innocent desires. I was aware, that, to some, this mode of treating the boys might seem too indulgent; but I believe experience has already shown, that it was the only course of discipline that could secure a ready obedience to the few essential rules, which I had laid down, and a truly filial confidence on the part of the boys.

"With regard to their studies, I have endeavoured, by a proper division and successive change of subjects, to excite their attention, secure their diligence, and create a love of thorough investigation and intellectual progress. It gives me pleasure to say, that the love of study, which the boys have acquired, far exceeds what I had a right to expect. Edward has learned to love the study of algebra, which he used to dislike, merely because he had not

been made to understand what he was required to learn; and Charles finds satisfaction in mastering a long exercise in Greek, which he used to dread. In order to cultivate their power of reasoning and of composition, I have been in the habit of giving them, two or three times a week, a general lesson on interesting subjects, partly in the form of a lecture, and partly in asking questions. They were required to write down all they remembered of the lesson, with additional observations of their own. The exercises they have thus written, will show what profit they have derived from these familiar lectures, which I felt confident would be particularly useful to them as a preparation during this winter, if they had been permitted to frequent some courses of lectures in the city, which I wished them to attend.

"Among the various objects to which my attention was directed, I would mention particularly the religious education of the children. I found, that religion, and the exercises connected with it, were to them, perhaps, the dullest of all subjects. In order to remedy this evil, arising probably from a previous injudicious manner of presenting this subject, I abstained from all direct teaching, but improved every proper occasion for quickening their religious sensibility, particularly in my general lessons, in giving them an insight into the moral, as well as physical, constitution of man. I directed their attention to the infinite capacities and tendencies of our nature, and to the ultimate connexion of the religious principle with every other faculty. Religion thus became

to them a new subject, full of intense interest. They found unfeigned satisfaction in our simple devotional exercises at home, and, on Sunday, they went to meeting with Mrs. Follen and myself in the forenoon. I allowed them to stay at home in the afternoon, on condition, that they would spend it properly and profitably; because I found, that two services wearied out their attention, and made that which I wanted to be to them a matter of vital interest, a dull observance of forms.

"I pass over many topics, for fear of overtasking your patience; but I shall be glad to answer any questions you may wish to ask, with regard to my management of the boys. We have spent a happy summer, owing chiefly to their good conduct; and I hope that you and their other friends are satisfied with their progress."

After stating his reasons at large to Colonel Perkins, for giving up the care of his nephews, which there would be a manifest impropriety in making public, Dr. Follen goes on to say, "It would give me pain to be misunderstood, as if I were finding fault, or disposed to decide on the right or wrong in this matter. But I feel confident, that your judgment will concur in my conscientious decision to give up a situation, in which I can no longer be what you wished and expected me to be to the grandchildren of your brother. The parting with the boys, to whom Mrs. Follen and myself have become sincerely and permanently attached, is deeply painful to us. We feel confident, however, that they will never cease to

look upon us as their friends, though the present connexion be dissolved."

The guardians of the boys very unwillingly acquiesced in Dr. Follen's decision. All who knew him intimately, were sure that nothing but a solemn sense of duty could have induced him to relinquish his charge; and to those who look at what was to him a minor motive, the fact, that he gave up present comfort, and the means of securing a competence for the future, — to all such judges, there must be satisfactory evidence, that he acted from the highest principle. When the boys heard that we were to part in the spring, their grief was extreme, and that day many a tear was shed by us all. It was, and still is, an unspeakable joy to remember, that this connexion, while it lasted, was an unalloyed pleasure to all concerned. I know well, that the young men who were under Dr. Follen's care, consider the spotless example he set before them, as one of the highest and purest blessings of their lives; they must love to think of his gentle firmness, his unwearied fidelity, and the sympathizing tenderness with which he performed all his duties towards them. It must be a deep joy to them to remember, also, that they never gave him any pain, except that which they shared with him and his family, the precious though sad sorrow at parting.

It was during this year, from the spring of 1835 to that of 1836, that the anti-slavery cause experienced some of its greatest trials and most bitter opposition; this was of course not a time for Dr. Follen to desert it. He was at that time one of the board of

managers of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society; he attended every meeting which was notified to him, when not prevented by his duties at home. His soul was deeply moved when he heard of the outrages committed by the mob in Boston, against the meeting of the Ladies' Anti-slavery Society, and of that disgraceful act of dragging Mr. Garrison through the streets by a halter; and that all this should be done, either by the aid, or with the quiet acquiescence, and in the presence, of thousands of its citizens. Then was it, when he heard of these outrages, that his heart was knit anew to the persecuted cause. He had always felt a true respect for Mr. Garrison, from the first of his acquaintance, when, to use the words of another, "He found him in a little upper chamber, where were his writing-desk, his types, and his printing press; his parlour by day, his sleeping room by night; where, known only by a few other faithful spirits, he denied himself all but the bare necessaries of life, that he might give himself up, heart and hand, to the despised cause of the negro slave."

He did not agree with Mr. Garrison upon some questions unconnected with the anti-slavery cause; his taste and feelings were offended by the language he occasionally used; he was deeply pained by his harsh attacks upon individuals; but he never allowed his perception of what he thought Mr. Garrison's faults, to overshadow his conviction of his great virtues. He reverenced his fearless devotion to principle; his uncompromising declaration and vindication of what he considered truth, against the weakness or

mistakes of its friends, as well as against the open and determined opposition of its enemies. He admired his disinterestedness, his magnanimity ; he relied much upon his sagacity in detecting false principles ; he loved the single-hearted purity of his purposes, and the childlike sweetness of his disposition. Dr. Follen never lost sight of these virtues in Mr. Garrison, even when he was most displeased with what he considered his faults. He believed that it was not passion, but partly a bad habit, and partly principle, that induced him to use offensive language ; that no doubt he considered himself bound to speak as he was prompted by the spirit that moved him, as truly as the prophets of old were obliged to declare the whole counsel of God, without any regard to the consequences ; in short, he loved and honored Mr. Garrison. But I return from this digression.

In the following letter to Harriet Martineau, Dr. Follen expresses fully and strongly his views upon many important subjects. It was written soon after our removal to Milton. He had just read the rude attack made upon her in the "Daily Advertiser," in consequence of her accepting an invitation to attend the Ladies' Anti-slavery meeting in Boston, and had sent the following note to the editor.

"TO MR. HALE.

"SIR,

"I have read in the 'Daily Advertiser' of this day, the editorial comment on Miss H. Martineau, followed by an article from the 'New York Courier

and Enquirer,' which is introduced to the readers of the 'Daily Advertiser,' as containing the remarks of an intelligent contemporary on that lady. I do not remember having met with an article more lame in logic, more indecent in sentiment, and more unfair and ungentlemanly in its application. I conclude from this, that the paper is no longer under your personal direction, and that it has ceased to be the organ of the well-educated portion of the community. It is my wish, therefore, that the 'Daily Advertiser' may not be sent to me any more. Trusting that you have no part whatever in the article, which has disgraced and degraded the 'Daily Advertiser,'

"I have the honor to be

"Yours, respectfully,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

LETTER TO H. MARTINEAU.

"*November* 30*th*, 1835.

"DEAR HARRIET,

"Your kind note found us busy as the ants in reducing to order the dismembered particles of our household; and, as we read with our hearts, which have not ceased to embrace the true old faith in transubstantiation, we found it easy, with the friendly features of your mind before our eyes, to believe in your bodily presence. Thank you for your heart-cheering and soul-staying philosophy of ease. It comes home to us in our domestic discomforts, and holds good in our disturbed political world. We have settled a point, and shall we not act thereupon? We have stepped

out of the safe vessel of selfish indifference, and ventured to walk on the troubled waters of philanthropic enterprise. Should we, after such glorious presumption, prove to be of little faith, giving ourselves up to sudden fright at the rising storm, rather than to the present omnipotence of the Saviour, Truth, that bade us come forth and walk by faith? But the temptations of fear, exerted by the hostile force that opposes our course, are less formidable than those arising from the tender concern of the friends of our peace and reputation and influence, who are continually striving to hold us back, or retard our progress. You are now experiencing what cannot be new to you; though you may not have met with it in this country; how little in times of trial we can rely on those whose affection for us is grounded on other things than our principles; who cannot bear to hear any evil spoken against us; who fear our influence may be impaired by an ill-timed assertion of unpopular truth, &c. Those principles in which we live and move, and have our being, though as old as the creation of man, are still a new doctrine, the elements of a new covenant, even in civilized, republican, Christian America. They are as the bread and wine of the altar, to which all are invited but of which few partake; because they dread to sign in their own hearts the pledge of truth, which may have to be redeemed by martyrdom. For is it not true, that those who maintain, that all men have an innate divine right to all the means of improvement and happiness within the reach of man, and that all have a corresponding

divine obligation to claim that innate right for each human being, are either shunned with silent condemnation as abolitionists, democrats, agrarians, or hailed with the cries of 'Crucify! crucify!' as fanatics and incendiaries? But if the world separate itself from us, it leads us to find a world in ourselves and in each other; not to form a new aristocracy of a somewhat higher stamp, but to unite our strength to break down every wall of partition, that interferes between man and our fellow-man.

"Our meeting with you, dear Harriet, was a blessed recognition, rather than a new acquaintance; our friendship had a preëxistence in kindred principles. Were it otherwise, I should tenderly regret, that your late conscientious 'indiscretion' should have brought upon you censure, and acquainted you with the weight and measure of many professions and sentiments. But you have 'settled your points, and acted thereupon,' and that is sufficient to compensate you for all the world can give and take away.

"I have many more things to say to you, less metaphysical, my dear friend, than the above essay, but I must save them for our next interview, which I hope is near at hand.

"Yours, very truly,

"C. FOLLEN."

"*December*, 1836.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"My wife *crossed* me the last time, and so, according to our principle of matrimonial equality, it is fair

that I should *cross* her now. * * * * * The admission of colored people to anti-slavery meetings is not a matter of expediency, but of vital principle. Our preaching of equality avails nothing, if we do not treat them as equals, seeking or avoiding their society on the same principles which determine our intercourse with the whites. It is this deep-rooted national prejudice, without doubt, which has clothed such a simple act of conscientious kindness as your attendance on a *mixed* meeting with such unnatural importance in the eyes of your friends, and stirred up the otherwise unaccountable amount of abuse among the enemies of your principles.

" Miss ——'s report of the complaints of the abolitionists against you, on account of your speech, is surely incorrect, as far as the most efficient men in the society are concerned, whom I have heard at the anti-slavery society office, expressing their warm and grateful approbation of what you had done and said.

" With respect to the faults of the abolitionists, she could hardly have told you any thing new, for their faults from the beginning have certainly had the merit of being as open as their virtues. Miss ——'s tone of reasoning has been, from the first, about half a note below the right pitch ; her mind is, indeed, a noble instrument, but defective in this, that the strings are so easily affected by the atmosphere to which it happens to be exposed, that it is difficult to keep it in tune. * * * * * McDuffie's message I have not yet seen ; it will undoubtedly prove a valuable aid to the cause of emancipation. They are all doing their best for us.

"I am pleased with what you say of my papers on the Future State, and shall be glad to converse with you further. I am satisfied, if they lead people to a more thorough study of their own present being, as the true foundation of all reasoning on its future condition. All other speculations are vague and unsatisfactory.

"I rejoice in the prospect of having you with us next Friday, to settle the affairs of this nether world at least, at this congress of our Holy Triple Alliance.

"Yours, affectionately,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

CHAPTER XVI.

Christmas-tree. — Meeting of the Anti-slavery Society. — Dr. Follen's Address. — Vindication of the Anti-slavery Society before the Committee of the House of Representatives.

It was at the lighting up of his little boy's Christmas-tree, that Dr. Follen hoped for the presence of our friend. Every Christmas since Charles was two years old, his father had dressed a Christmas-tree for him, after the fashion of his own country. This was always the happiest day in the year to him. He spared no pains, no time, in adorning the tree, and making it as beautiful as possible. This year he went himself into the woods with Charles and his pupils, and selected a fine spruce tree, and spent many hours preparing it, and cutting ornaments for it of different colored paper, &c. Every one in the family contributed to its decoration. Then he placed wax tapers on every branch, carefully, so as to light the tree perfectly, but not to set fire to any thing. All the children of our acquaintance were invited to see it; after tea, at the ringing of a bell, the door of the room where the tree was placed was opened, and the children entered. Dr. Follen always placed himself where he could see the children's faces as they

entered. "It was in their eyes," he used to say, "that he loved best to see the Christmas-tree." After the lights were burned out, and the baskets of sugar-plums that hung on the tree were distributed, the children danced or played games the rest of the evening. As Harriet Martineau could not be with us on Christmas evening, we had deferred lighting our tree till new year's eve. He was a child with the children; he taught them games, he played with them, he was the happiest of the happy. This was the last Christmas-tree he ever dressed for his boy. When the children were in bed, we chatted away the old year with our friend, and, to comfort ourselves for the thought, that we should never pass such another new year's eve together, promised, as the clock struck twelve, to remember each other at that hour, every new year's eve of our remaining lives.

At the annual meeting of the Anti-slavery Society, on the 20th of this month, Dr. Follen was present, and proposed a resolution, which he advocated in an address of unusual length for him. As his remarks this evening set forth his views upon some very important questions, and as I have often heard him say, that he had never spoken more entirely to his own satisfaction, I esteem it a duty to him to give it entire in this record of his life and opinions. I have, therefore, placed it at the end of this volume.

Not long after this, the Governor of Massachusetts indirectly passed a severe censure upon the Abolitionists, by the manner in which, in his inaugural address,

he referred to the declared opinion of the Attorney-General of the State, that they were, by their sayings and doings, guilty of an offence against the laws of their country, and were liable to prosecution. Charges also had been made against them by Southern legislatures, in which the legislature of our State was requested to enact laws, making it penal for the citizens to form societies for the abolition of slavery, or to speak or publish sentiments such as had been uttered in anti-slavery meetings, and published in anti-slavery papers. The subject was referred to a committee of five, of which the Honorable George Lunt was chairman. The board of managers of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society thought it right to appoint a committee to confer with the committee of the House, and, if possible, avert any action on the part of the legislature of this State against them. Dr. Follen was put upon this committee. When he received the notice that he was nominated, his first thought was to refuse to serve, because of the extreme inconvenience of fulfilling properly such a duty in his present situation. It was winter time, he lived eight miles from Boston, and a great part of the day his engagements at home (for his pupils were yet with us) were not to be set aside; his friends as well as his opposers had often reminded him, that his being a foreigner made it peculiarly offensive in him to take any part in this question; and he disliked the notoriety it would involve him in; but this was just the time, now that the cause was most hated, most reviled, for all true hearts to be the most devoted. It was the time of trial; a

another, a more hopeful time, he would have felt free to refuse to serve, but he could not then. I can see him now, as, with his peculiarly quiet but earnest, determined look he said, "I must go; I cannot desert them at such a moment."

I went with him to the State-House where the gentlemen from the anti-slavery society met the committee of the House. He listened with the most intense interest to the discussion between the Rev. Mr. May and Mr. Lunt, with which the meeting commenced, and the very powerful and highly eloquent vindication of their cause by Mr. Ellis G. Loring, and to forcible remarks of Mr. Goodell and Mr. Garrison, and then he rose. He commenced with a series of remarks upon the rights of man, which the people of this country profess to hold in the most sacred regard. Thence he proceeded to make some observations upon the spirit and purpose of our republican institutions; and to show that the liberty of speech and of the press was essential to the preservation of our government. "Whatever," said he, "will not bear to be examined, criticized, spoken about, and written about, must be essentially bad, and ought not to be perpetuated. The attempt to stifle the voice, or to muzzle the press, is a sure indication of an attempt to perpetuate what ought to be abolished. Such an attempt is now under consideration. By the exercise of their natural and constitutional rights to speak and print what they think of the evils and dangers of slavery, the Abolitionists are endeavouring to effect its overthrow. This the slave-holders and their abettors

are determined to prevent; not by showing them that they are mistaken, and trying to convince them that slavery is a good and not an evil; but by denying their right to express any opinion about it. They have done all in their power to excite the public odium against the Abolitionists, and to make it to be believed, that those who denounce slavery are enemies of this republic, of these free institutions. Southern legislators have offered rewards for their abduction, or for their assassination, and are now calling upon the Northern legislatures to abolish the Abolitionists by law. We do not apprehend, Gentlemen of this committee, that you will advise, or that the legislature of this Commonwealth will enact, a law making it penal in the citizens of Massachusetts to denounce slavery. But we do apprehend that you may recommend, and that the legislature may pass resolutions censuring the Abolitionists. Now against this measure we most earnestly protest. The consequences of a legislative censure we think might be worse than a penal law. We need only look back a few months to see what consequences we may apprehend. The outrages committed in this city upon the liberty of speech, the mob in Boston, was doubtless countenanced by the Faneuil-Hall meeting. A large number of the citizens of Boston met there. The resolutions they passed were such as the Abolitionists themselves would readily assent to, but the preamble contained a severe censure, and this we believe was regarded by the mobocrats (though not so intended by the meeting at Faneuil Hall) as a warrant for their outrageous pro-

ceedings. Now, Gentlemen, may we not reasonably anticipate, that similar consequences would follow the expression by the legislature of a similar condemnation? Would not the mobocrats again undertake to execute the informal sentence of the General Court? Would they not let loose again their blood-hounds upon us?"

"Stop Sir," said Mr. Lunt, "you may not pursue this course of remark, it is insulting to this committee, and to the legislature which they represent."

"I have not intimated, Sir, nor do I believe," replied Dr. Follen, "that you or the legislature would approve an act of violence. I have only endeavoured to show you, from what has been, what may be." Mr. Lunt said, "that the committee considered what he had said very improper, and could not permit him to proceed."

Dr. Follen sat down; an emotion of deep displeassure was felt through the whole assembly. Mr. May rose to express his dissatisfaction with the way in which they were treated, and to vindicate Dr. Follen, when the chairman said, that it was of no consequence what he or his associates thought of the remarks of Dr. Follen, that it was for the committee to decide upon their propriety, and that it was a matter of special favor that they were admitted at all to this interview. Mr. May protested against this, and reminded him, that they had formally requested a hearing, and it had been granted them by the House. After this discussion with Mr. May, one of the committee of the legislature expressed his disapprobation of Mr. Lunt's

decision, who then said, that although he was persuaded the remarks of Dr. Follen were improper, yet, rather than that they should go away and say they had not had a fair hearing, he might resume his discourse.

Dr. Follen again rose with calm dignity and said, "Before I proceed," Mr. Chairman, "I must beg again to be distinctly informed, what I have said that should be considered disrespectful to the committee, or otherwise indecorous. And I must also be informed whether our *right* to speak here is to be recognised by the committee, or whether we are still to be considered as being permitted to speak by *special favor*." The chairman declined making any satisfactory explanation, and Dr. Follen therefore refused to proceed.

A hum of voices was then heard repeating "That's right," "That's right," bearing testimony, that the spirit of freedom was not yet quite quenched. After a few moments the committee of the Abolitionists made known their resolution to send a remonstrance to the legislature, and their hope, that hereafter they should meet together with a better understanding of their relative positions. The Abolitionists sent in a remonstrance to the legislature the next day, which was referred to the same committee, and on the 8th they were granted another hearing.

After Mr. May and Mr. Sewall had addressed them in vindication of the proceedings and principles of the Abolitionists, Dr. Follen again rose.

"I have been," he said, "eleven years a resident, and six years a citizen, of this republic. The prin-

ciples on which the anti-slavery societies are founded, are the same which brought me to this country, and without the enjoyment of which I could not wish to remain in it. The principles of freedom, and, especially, the right of free discussion, are secured to the citizens in the Constitution and laws of the country. The principle of the freedom of speech is the only point really at issue before the committee of the legislature. It is proposed, through the medium of this committee, to recommend to the legislature, either penal enactments or a vote of censure against the Abolitionists, and for what? Simply for the exercise of the freedom of speech and of the press, not only without any violation of the law, but clearly within the law and the Constitution. In no case has it been pretended, that aught but speaking and printing has ever been attempted by Abolitionists to accomplish the objects they have in view. We are to be censured, if at all, by the legislature, not for what we have *done*, but for what we believe and say; though there is no law, and no law can be made under the Constitution, against which we have offended. We have endeavoured by persuasion, by argument, by moral and religious appeals, to urge upon the nation, and especially upon our Southern brethren, the necessity of freeing themselves from the stain of slavery, which rests upon our institutions. This is all we have done, and what we shall continue to do. What is there so singular in this, that the Abolitionists of this country should be marked for legislative censure?

"It is now admitted, that the voice of the civil-

ized world, out of this country, is with the Abolitionists.* The civilized nations of Europe have already done, or are fast doing, what must be done in this country at some time or other. Emancipation must come. Mr. Jefferson prophesied truly, when he said, many years ago, that an end to slavery must come. Whether it shall come in peace, by argument and persuasion, or in blood, as it did in St. Domingo, rests upon ourselves to determine. The Abolitionists feeling, in the spirit of the prophecy of Jefferson, that emancipation must come, seek to bring it about in peace, by rousing the country to a sense of the dangers growing out of this institution, and increasing so long as it remains among us. If we are told we must not discuss it now, we ask, when will the time come to discuss it? When will the South be better prepared than it is now for the discussion? On this point, I will quote the language of a Southern man and a slave-holder, Mr. Summers of Virginia, in his speech in the legislature of Virginia." [Here Dr. Follen quoted a passage from a speech by Mr. Summers, in which he urges, that now is the time, that there should be no delay in meeting this great question; and mentioned, that other legislators at the South held the same doctrine, and asked, why we should not do what they had done themselves. And then he went on to say,]

"I would not justify all the language used by Abolitionists in their speeches and writings. Whenever

* See Mr. Preston's late speech in Congress.

they have been wrong, as I thought, I have censured them. I censure them now. But it would be impossible to belong to any party or body of men, if the whole were to be made responsible for every extravagant expression, that might be uttered by an individual. And, especially, will the legislature attempt to punish or censure freedom of speech, because some may use it improperly? We must, in all such cases, take the broad ground of right, — freedom of speech and freedom of opinion, — a right secured to us by the Constitution of the United States, and secured to us by the constitution of human nature. It is the only condition of improvement, the only safeguard of liberty. It is a right, which cannot be taken from one class of citizens without reaching all.

"On this point alone, freedom of speech under the Constitution, are we assailed. You cannot censure freedom of speech in Abolitionists, without preparing the way to censure it in any other class of citizens, who may, for the moment, be obnoxious to the majority. The question, therefore, is not whether you will put down the Abolitionists, but it is whether the legislature of Massachusetts will suppress freedom of speech for ever. We say to you, save yourselves as well as us from consequences, which we must all bear alike, if on this point we give up the freedom of discussion. We apprehend, also, and not without reason, personal consequences to ourselves, should any vote of censure be passed by the legislature. Although I feel that many of my friends have been deeply injured by the unjust excitement,

which has been got up against them, founded on misrepresentation, yet I can look at it with the eye of a friend to the people. Even the mobs, which have done so much discredit to the country, in the estimation of the civilized world, I am glad to be able to believe have acted on a delusion, which had for its object, though mistaken, to preserve the union. They believed we wanted to infringe the compact of the Constitution by violent means, and destroy the union. This was their error from the misrepresentations made so often of the designs and acts of the Abolitionists. As a friend of liberty, I am glad to be able to look on the popular excitement, from which my friends have suffered, in this light; but where 'Judge Lynch' has presided, I must say, as I said the other day,"——

As soon as Dr. Follen uttered these last words, the Chairman of the Committee said, "I call you to order, Sir. This is not respectful to the Committee." The call to order excited universal surprise. Dr. Follen's manner had been so gentle and courteous, that no one could comprehend why he was called to order. He was as much astonished as others, and asked in what he was out of order. He was told, it was for alluding to what he was called to order for the other day. He replied, that he thought his offence then had been in taking it for granted, that the legislature would pass penal enactments, or a vote of censure, against the Abolitionists; but he did not understand why he was stopped now.

Mr. Lunt told him, that it was his allusion to mobs, for which he was called to order at the last session.

"Am I, then, to understand," replied Dr. Follen, "that speaking of mobs is disrespectful to this committee?"

The chairman said, that his allusion was improper, and would not be permitted.

"Allow me," said Dr. Follen, "to have a distinct understanding of the objection. I have spoken, and was about to speak, of the mobs, where 'Lynch law' has been practised. Is there any thing disrespectful in that to the committee, or the legislature?" The chairman thought there was; but another gentleman of the committee thought otherwise, and said, that it was not out of order.

Dr. Follen then said, "If I have not the freedom of speech to speak of the evil consequences, which we, as Abolitionists, apprehend may follow a legislative censure, which may be used by interested and reckless men as a sanction of mobs to assail us, then I have nothing more to say. If this is not allowed, if we cannot point out the direct or indirect tendency of legislative action, by a vote of censure or otherwise, to incite mobs against us, then I have nothing more to say."

The majority of the committee seemed to agree, that he should not be allowed to proceed; but, after a remonstrance from Mr. May, and some discussion, he was told that he might go on.

Dr. Follen then resumed; "I understand, that I am now allowed freely to speak of the injurious consequences, which we, as Abolitionists, fear will be the result of legislative action against us. If this

is not acceded to, then, in the opinion of my friends, we have not the right of a full hearing, such as is granted in every court of law, and by every court in the Union, before proceeding to pass any act, that may injuriously affect a class of citizens, or the rights of individuals. If I am mistaken in this view of the subject, I wish to be stopped in the beginning, as I have no inclination to do any thing, which is contrary to the decision of the committee."

The chairman said, he could state his views freely.

"I apprehend, then," he continued, "from a vote of censure by the legislature upon the sentiments and measures of the Abolitionists, the same consequences that have followed the expression of opinions condemning the opinions of the Abolitionists in another place; I allude to the meeting in Faneuil Hall, which was followed by a mob." Here Dr. Follen repeated what he had said in his first address, and added, "Individuals, peaceably and lawfully assembled, were assailed with violence and put in peril of their lives. The rights of property were disregarded. The sign of the Anti-slavery Society was torn down and destroyed, and the spectacle was exhibited, in the most enlightened and orderly city of the Union, of a mob, in the glare of day, leading an innocent man through the streets of Boston, with a halter about him. Yet not a single magistrate or court of justice has taken cognizance of these acts of violence. I believe, that those engaged in that outrage, are heartily sorry for the mob, and I wish to bury it in oblivion. I take no pleasure in alluding to it, and have

only done so, as showing the consequences likely to follow measures, which may now be intended against the Abolitionists. Our view is simply, that if a vote of censure should pass the legislature, it might be followed by a repetition of the same outrages.

"Might not the charge of exciting disunion, which we affirm is unjustly made against us, with more justice be made against our assailants? The paper in this city, in which the mob was called to march under the banner of 'Judge Lynch,' formerly defended nullification, the fruit of which is disunion. There has been no call to legislate against that, and no censure is proposed.

"We do not say, that the legislature will sanction mobs, or that they mean to incite them against us, but that we apprehend, that mobs may follow any act of censure on their part, as they followed the vote of censure in the Faneuil-Hall meeting. It is for the wisdom of the legislature to determine whether the Abolitionists, alone, are to be endangered by mobs. A mob excited against Abolitionists now, may excite another mob far more dangerous to others than that would be to us. It is impossible to prescribe limits to lawless acts of popular violence. If I were a man of property, I should fear nothing so much as a mob. The laws especially protect property and favor men of property, and it is only by maintaining the laws against violence in any form, that the rights of property can be secured in any community. A mob, got up against Abolitionists, may stir up a mob against property. We would not rely on mobs; we should

condemn them as much if against our opponents as against ourselves. We would let those rely on mobs, who cannot carry their measures by argument and law. We rely on the legislature of Massachusetts to protect us in common with all the citizens of the commonwealth, while in the peaceable and lawful exercise of our right of freedom of speech. Why, then, should we be censured for doing what the legislature cannot declare to be an offence against law? There is nothing in the Constitution, which confers the power on the legislature to pass censure upon citizens in the exercise of a legal right. It would combine judicial with legislative power, which the Constitution expressly forbids. It would condemn citizens without being tried for any offence, and place them before the public as if they were outlaws, not entitled to protection in their persons or property. I speak now of the consequences, that are likely to follow a vote of censure of the legislature. This is the only light in which I view the acts of popular violence, that have taken place, and in which I wish to allude to them. I do it with pain and regret, but from necessity. Our aim is not to reproach any one; and we only seek, in using this argument, to impress upon the legislature, what we regard as a highly important reason, why they should not adopt a measure, the tendency of which is so obviously to incite to acts of violence against us.

"Our wish, therefore, is, and we respectfully request the legislature, that no action may be had on the subject; since the existing laws are sufficient to meet every emergency."

Dr. Follen thus had at last the satisfaction of being allowed to expr̃ess his views without further opposition to himself personally; but he had the pain, directly afterwards, of hearing his colleague stopped in his address, and then ordered to sit down. Mr. May, also, was silenced by the chairman. When rudely spoken to himself, he had been calm; but this insulting tone to others, he told me, severely tried his temper. I saw the glow of indignation in his face. A strong feeling of disapprobation was manifested by the spectators; two gentlemen, not belonging to the Anti-slavery Society, spoke with eloquence and power for the injured cause of freedom, and expressed the hope, that the committee would permit the gentlemen to proceed. A voice in the gallery cried "Amen"; but the committee broke up, and the chairman retired. Some members of the legislature came to Dr. Follen, and told him, that they hoped that he would not think, that he would have been treated in such a manner, had he appeared before the House, instead of their committee.

There were some of my friends, who thought that I should feel very badly at seeing my husband one of this little company of insulted men; but as he stood there, battling for freedom of speech in this free land, surrounded by the rich, and the powerful, and the favorites of the world, and condemned by them all for it, I would not have had him exchange positions with any one of them. The unruffled calmness of his soul took possession of mine, and I felt, as he did, that what had passed that day, would yet be felt

throughout the Union. Dr. Follen's appearance through the whole of this memorable occasion is so justly described by his eloquent eulogist, Mr. May, before the Anti-slavery Society, that I quote the passage from his discourse.

"His conduct on that memorable occasion commanded your admiration. It was worthy of himself. Standing before that committee, he evinced the same calm, invincible spirit of resistance to wrong, that had animated him when he withstood, at Basle, the demands of the Allied Sovereigns of Europe. In both cases it was principle, that he contended for. In both it was the violation of principle, that he chiefly dreaded.

"A committee of the Massachusetts Legislature might not be so august a presence as the Holy Alliance; but, in his regard, the occasion which called him to the Hall of our Representatives, was as much more momentous than the occasion on which he withstood the Allied Sovereigns at Basle, as the infringement of the liberties of speech by a democratic government would be more disastrous to the cause of freedom, than any encroachment on human rights by absolute monarchs. We were all impressed by his intent look, his earnest, solemn manner. And we can never cease to be grateful to him, for his pertinacity in maintaining his own rights against the aggressive overbearance of the chairman of that committee."

A most bitter as well as vulgar attack was made

upon him in one of the Boston newspapers ; he heard of it, but he did not happen to read it. A few days after this, he went to an evening party made for Harriet Martineau. He knew that the friends who had invited us, and many whom he should there meet, did not approve of the part he had taken with the Abolitionists. He went, rather expecting cold civility ; it was not so ; he was received with that courtesy and kindness, which his presence seemed always to awaken in every heart. But there was one there, who hastened eagerly from a distant part of the room as soon as he entered, and, grasping his hand most cordially, said, "Do not mind the shameful things they have said against you in that infamous paper. Go on courageously ; you have done well. It is the cause of humanity, of truth, of God, that you are maintaining ; it will yet prevail." Little did Dr. Bowditch know how precious these words were to him, to whom they were spoken. Dr. Follen's whole soul was moved by them ; he had proved, that he could give up parents, dear friends, home,—nay, risk his life, for principle. But never did there live a man, by whom all the joys of life, the respect of the wise and good, the love of the meanest being, were more justly estimated than by him. And therein did he prove his allegiance to truth and duty,—that he deliberately laid upon their altar, that which he truly loved and knew how to value.

CHAPTER XVII.

Dr. Follen parts with his Pupils. — Goes to Stockbridge. — Commences his Work on Psychology. — He takes a Journey to the West. — Preaches at Chicago. — Visits Mr. Rapp. — Returns to Stockbridge. — Letter to Harriet Martineau. — Publication of "Religion and the Church." — Letter to his Brother. — Accepts an Invitation to preach in New York.

In April, 1836, Dr. Follen was again thrown altogether upon his own resources. He had relinquished his comfortable establishment; he had no fixed home. No employment was offered him. He was left to seek the means of subsistence for himself and family. But we were now out of debt; and, though our income was very small, it was possible to live upon it. We determined to sell all our furniture, except what was necessary to furnish a parlour and bedroom, and go to some country town where lodgings were cheap. Dr. Follen drew a sigh over his books and papers as he consigned them to the boxes in which they were to remain till we again had a place where they might be arranged for use; but he uttered no complaint; on the contrary, his mind immediately fixed upon the advantage and pleasure he would derive from this period of leisure. He had long cherished in his mind the project of writing an elementary work on Psychology,

and he wished much to give his views at large upon religion, and the true idea of a church. He had, in his own country, and in this, often written down his thoughts upon these subjects, and made preparations for a systematic treatise upon them; but had never had sufficient leisure to prosecute his plan; now, in the midst of the beautiful scenery of Stockbridge, where we had taken lodgings, and among the kind friends who would welcome us there, he hoped to be able to accomplish this favorite wish of his heart. After passing the month of April in Boston, at my brother's, we bade them and our other friends farewell, knowing not when we should meet again, and went to Stockbridge, where we were joined by our friend Harriet Martineau. Dr. Follen immediately commenced his treatise "on Religion and the Church"; it was his habit to devote the morning to study and writing, and the afternoons to social pleasures; and thus we passed the month of May together, enjoying the best and purest pleasures that this life can give. On the first of June we set out with Harriet Martineau and some other friends on a journey to the West.

Dr. Follen had always determined that he would take the first good opportunity to visit Niagara Falls, and other interesting parts of our country; and he thought that he should never have so free a time to go, or so agreeable a company of friends to enhance the pleasure, as now.

This journey was a great pleasure to him. His enjoyment of the glories and beauties of the visible

creation, was deep and constant; it was a part of that worship, that was ever arising from his soul to the Author of nature. He would always step aside, when he was walking, in order to avoid crushing the meanest flower in his path. He looked up at the stars nightly with the same devout admiration as if they were but just hung in the unfathomable depths of the heavens; he rejoiced at the sight of the rising sun every new day, as if it were but just created, and he was seeing it for the first time. Nothing beautiful or good, nothing that he truly loved, ever lost its charm to him. What then must have been his delight to contemplate the boundless prairie, smiling and waving with flowers as far as the eye could reach; the solemn loveliness of our majestic lakes, and the unutterable glories of Niagara. His joy was intense. He said that his first impressions of Niagara, in consequence of his being a little near-sighted, were inadequate; that he thought it should be deeply studied; that every hour of his visit to this magnificent shrine in God's great temple revealed new glories, new beauties to him; he questioned whether any one view of the Alps had moved him so much. The other members of the party had occasional fluctuations of health or spirits, but he was ever well, ever serenely cheerful. At Trenton Falls, where we passed a day, he carried his little boy, then only six years old, to all the most difficult and dangerous places, and, after having put him in a place of safety, he would return to help any one of the party who needed his assistance over the narrow, slippery paths, to fall from which would have been certain

death. When we had all safely climbed up to the highest fall, some one of the party said, "How refreshing a draught of milk would be." In a moment he was on his way back to the hotel, and it was not long before we saw him coming slowly around the projecting rocks, holding the pitcher of milk in one hand over the precipice, while with the other he supported himself in the difficult path he trod. Soon he was safely by us. "There," he said, with a triumphant look of pleasure, as he offered us the pitcher full of milk, "I have not spilt one drop." I mention this trifling act, because it was a part of his character to love to perform such little acts of kindness, as perfectly as if they were great deeds for the world to hear of.

When we were at Chicago, where we passed some days among its hospitable inhabitants, he was asked by some friends to address them on the Sabbath. The Unitarians had no church, but they were desirous of forming a religious society. They assembled in an unfinished room in a hotel, that was then partly built, and, at their request, Dr. Follen addressed them. He spoke to them without any previous preparation, but most eloquently, upon the reality of unseen things; upon the religious nature of man; upon his tendency to the infinite in all he did, and thought, and felt; and upon the proof we find, from these facts, that he was made for immortality. The people were so much interested and affected by his preaching, that they immediately had a meeting, and twenty thousand dollars in land or money was subscribed on the spot towards erecting a church, and he was urged to stay or return and preach to them.

On our way back, we passed a night and part of a day at Economy, the settlement established by Mr. Rapp, on the Ohio, eighteen miles below Pittsburg. It was the particular desire of Dr. Follen to remain here long enough to obtain all the facts that he could, with regard to Mr. Rapp and his community. Some of these are mentioned in Harriet Martineau's "Society in America." He was satisfied from what he saw, that the community, by their labor, earned not only enough to support them in comfort, and even luxury, but that there must be a large surplus. He asked to see Mr. Rapp, and sent him his card, but received for answer, that he was going to ride. The superintendent showed him every thing, and invited him to walk in the garden. We lingered so long in this beautiful garden, that when Mr. Rapp came out to walk in it, after his ride, he and Dr. Follen met. He was the finest looking old man I ever saw. He looked like a Prophet; his white curling locks fell gracefully on his shoulders; he must have been more than six feet in height, and he had an eye like an eagle's. When Dr. Follen expressed his great pleasure at the abundance of the crops, and the proof which his success gave of the advantage, in respect to economy, of such a community, he said, coldly, "Yes, it was very well." Dr. Follen expressed the wish that others might imitate such an example, and reap advantage from his experiment. Rapp answered, that their prosperity arose entirely from their separation from the world and the world's people. Dr. Follen replied, "that Jesus did not

separate himself from his fellow-men ; that he lived in the midst of the world, among sinners ; and that he thought that he was the true model for reformers." The color mounted in the old man's face ; his fresh and yet youthful complexion was actually red with displeasure ; he looked away, and made no answer. Dr. Follen then asked, if this community did not earn more than they consumed ? Mr. Rapp made an evasive answer, and presently he said that he must go into the house (which was close by) to take some refreshment after his ride. He did not ask us to go in, but left us in the heat at mid-day ; it was evident he disliked the close questions of his countryman. These two men formed a striking contrast ; Mr. Rapp looked as if he was made, and was resolved, to command ; but his quick, dark, piercing eye fell repeatedly beneath the quiet, transparent, and fearless gaze of Dr. Follen.

The last day but one of this happy journey we passed at Philadelphia. It was Sunday. Dr. Follen preached in the evening for Mr. Furness. His address was extempore. It so happened, that his subject led him to speak of slavery. He gave his views simply and fully, and with that energy and warmth of feeling with which he always preached. It so happened, that a gentleman was present who was an acquaintance of ours, and who was a very large slave-owner. A mutual friend, who feared that he might be offended, remarked to this gentleman after church, "You see our friend is quite an Abolitionist ; what do you think of his sermon ?" "Dr. Follen," he replied, "speaks in such a spirit, that no man can be offended with

him." During the service this man had taken particular care of our little boy, who was at church, and appeared unwell.

The next day we went to New York; it was the sad day of parting with our friend Harriet Martineau. We spoke of the probability of our meeting again in this world. Dr. Follen thought we should. He always hoped, he always believed, that his best wishes would be fulfilled. He told her that her greatest trial would arise from those who had hitherto been her friends, and who, not being prepared to go along with her in all her views, would, if she was faithful to them, either wax cold, or become her enemies. We left her in New York, and returned to Stockbridge with hearts full of gratitude for the pure pleasures we had tasted, and all the blessings we had experienced; though saddened with the thought, that we perhaps "should see her face no more."

Soon after our return, Dr. Follen wrote to her the following letters.

"*Stockbridge, July 20th*, 1836.

"My dear Friend,

"What Eliza has written, under frequent interruptions, expresses all I wish to say to you at this time. Persuaded as I am, that every true sorrow, as well as every true joy, has its appointed ministry in the progress of the soul, I would not, if I could, cast off the grief of separation from you with all its painful freshness and prospective continuance. It will take a long time to reconcile our eyes to your absence, and a

wean our habitual expectations from this cherished dependence on having you take a share in all the great and little interests, joys, and troubles of our every-day life. But to help us bear our separation from you, we still have the blessed remembrance of what your presence has been to us, and, what is more than all, the knowledge of what you are to our immortal hearts. Our intercourse, the shortness of which has been more than made up by its frankness and intimacy, has brought us to a perfect understanding of each other's principles and objects, and a perfect trust in each other's sincerity, and must lead us unconsciously or intentionally to a constant coöperation for the same great purposes of life. What broader and deeper foundation can there be for the union of individuals, than this mutual reliance on the self-sacrificing devotion of each to the vital interests of all.

"And now once more farewell, dear Harriet. Kind wishes and fervent prayers follow you to your native land; wherever you may be, our love, our hearts will ever be with you.

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. FOLLEN."

"*August* 16*th*, 1836.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Your last letters from New York were so grateful, so painfully dear to us, that we know not how to thank you. Our hearts were pressed down by the greatness of our loss, but your words of love raised them, by making us feel how much greater that is which

we cannot lose. Our best comfort must flow from continuing, as far as we can, that intimate intercourse in which our souls have lived, without any of those prudential restraints by which all are tormented, while so few are free-hearted enough to throw them off. You say, 'When will the spiritual "live and let live" be understood and practised?' A conversation that I had yesterday, convinces me, that that blessed time has not yet arrived. * * * * * I have not yet told you, that I have refused the offer which Mr. Dewey made to me, in the name of the committee of his society, to become minister at large in New York. My chief reason was, that I think my previous studies and experience enable me to be more useful in another sphere, though there could not be one more exalted in my eyes.

"My first tract on 'Religion and the Church,' is at last actually ready for the press. I shall send you a copy, and one to your brother, as soon as it is printed.

"And now, my dear friend, I leave the rest of this paper to Eliza. I cannot but feel, that the quill is, after all, a poor substitute for the tube.* I anticipate with joyful hope your first lines from your native land. Your brother's letter was a most welcome visiter, full of interesting information, which I could have received only from him, and of just and elevated sentiments, for which I feel most truly grate-

* Alluding to the ear-trumpet, which Harriet Martineau always used.

ful to him. I shall write to him again when I send my tract.

"Farewell, dear Harriet; our hearts' earnest wishes and prayers are ever with you.

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. FOLLEN."

The little tract which Dr. Follen speaks of in his letter, and which he had labored at with great zeal and industry since his return to Stockbridge, did not draw the attention that he hoped it would. It was favorably noticed by the editor of the "Boston Quarterly Review," and by some others; but, though it was a small and unexpensive work, and there was only a small edition of it, a sufficient number of copies to pay the cost of printing was not sold. The work was printed at his own expense. He thought the subject was so deeply interesting, that he should be sure of a certain number of readers; he was preparing the second number, and his heart was full of hope about it. When he discovered his mistake, he felt disheartened; he left the second number unfinished, and turned his attention to his "Elements of Psychology," which he hoped to make a popular work.

The first number of "Religion and the Church," and the second, just as he left it, will be found in this collection of his writings, and, I cannot but think, will vindicate his opinion, that they were worthy of more attention than they received.

The sweetness and meekness, with which Dr. Follen bore such trials, seemed to turn every failure into a

triumph. He was disappointed, he was sorry, and then he dismissed the subject and went on to something else. He was soon entirely engaged in his Psychology. There was no occupation so truly delightful to him as this. It seemed his true element. If I saw him looking unusually happy, and as if his soul was all alive, and he was writing with great earnestness, I knew that he was engaged upon his favorite work, "the Science of the Soul." He wrote during this summer an article for the "Anti-slavery Quarterly Review." He also gave some lessons in German, to some friends who were anxious to receive instruction from him. For this he took his afternoons; his mornings were faithfully devoted to hard study.

On Sunday afternoons, at the request of a friend, he met at her house a small assembly of neighbours and friends, who wished him to lead their devotions. Who that heard him will ever forget the inspiring words that he spoke to them at those holy times, the new interest which he gave to the written word of God by his manner of reading it, or the outpourings of his pure soul in prayer, carrying away every heart captive that listened to him in that consecrated room. Who ever heard him utter the words "Heavenly Father," that did not feel that it was the devoted child, declaring from the depths of his heart his filial love and trust?

Those who have been impressed with the fervor and tenderness of Dr. Follen's devotional feelings, may be surprised that he was not in the habit of family prayer, and that he seldom asked a blessing at his

meals. He thought these frequent and stated prayers often mere forms. He said, "Why should we select the time when we eat, particularly, for prayer? I am more disposed to thank God for an elevating conversation with a friend, than for a good dinner." When we were alone together, he thought, that usually an uttered prayer was unnatural. "Are we not praying," he would say, "all the time, when we are trying to do and suffer the will of God? We have been talking of his purposes at this time, and asking our own hearts and each other, what is his will; and now would it not seem formal to make a set prayer to Him, who sees the heart? I fear these forms." When our family was larger, and consisted of a variety of characters, then he loved to call us all to prayer together, because he hoped to excite devotional feelings in hearts which wanted awakening; but, even in this case, he watched against the deadening influence of forms.

When he was called upon to ask a blessing, his words were so simple and characteristic, that I give them as I remember them;—"We thank thee, Heavenly Father, for our daily bread. We thank thee for the friends, with whom we break it. We thank thee for the bread of life, and the cup of salvation, brought to us by Jesus Christ, thy dear Son. Amen."

This summer had been a period of uncommon enjoyment to us. The present was too happy to allow room for anxiety for the future. A letter, which he wrote to my brother and sister, upon hearing that

they had named a child for him, shows the state of his feelings.

"*Stockbridge, September 18th*, 1836.

"My dear Brother and Sister,

"As for Susan's closing suggestion, that I had become too proud of my name, it is most true; and it is you that have made me so. But as for supposing, that I should be the first proud man that quarrelled with the feather in his cap,—in this she is most egregiously mistaken. I thank you for this proof of your affectionate regard for me; and, if your engrafting a foreign name upon this native stock should have any effect upon the fruits of the nursling, I hope, that in his case as well as in mine, any want of native flavor and sweetness may be made up by the good opinion of those, who are willing to try and acquire a taste for them.

"I heartily wish, that he may be spared the disappointments of the earlier, and that he may deserve the success that has attended the latter, part of the life of him, whose name he bears; but, above all, that neither success may bribe, nor disappointment deter, him from the line of conduct marked out by his own conscience. I know, that, to you, this child is a source not only of earthly joy; that you look upon him as a brother to him, who is born into another world, as well as to the little brothers and sisters who welcomed his coming. It is this faith, which binds me to the child, and to you, his parents, more intimately than my name and our family connexion,

from which I have constantly derived so much unmixed pleasure.

"This month has, indeed, been full of sunshine to me. It has brought together my own birthday, as well as that of the little one who bears my name, and Eliza's and my wedding-day, which has been celebrated here in Stockbridge with dancing and poetry. But I must close; the mail will not wait for the detail of all we have enjoyed. Eliza and Charley join in love to you both, and the children.

"Yours affectionately,

"C. FOLLEN.

"MR. AND MRS. EDWARD CABOT."

Dr. Follen was so much pleased with his residence in Stockbridge, where we had so many dear friends around us, that we had resolved to pass the winter there. We found that, with a very strict economy, we could live upon our small income, and the leisure of a life in the country favored his dear and long cherished plan of completing the work he had commenced on the "Science of the Soul." But a friend, who had heard him preach at Stockbridge, mentioned him to one of the committee for supplying the pulpit of the First Unitarian Church in New York. He was invited to preach two Sundays upon trial, which he did, leaving us, in the mean while, at Stockbridge. The people were so much pleased with him, that they requested him to prolong his engagement, and he was told, that there was no doubt that the Society would invite him to remain, at least, for the coming winter;

he therefore returned for his family. With heavy hearts we bade farewell to our friends, and to dear, peaceful Stockbridge, where we had enjoyed so much, and where love and kindness had ever attended us, to go to a city of strangers.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Dr. Follen is ordained in Boston. — Returns to New York. — Letters to Harriet Martineau. — Letters to Friends. — Engages to preach for Six Months in New York. — Renews his Engagement at New York for One Year. — Goes to Washington.

JUST after we arrived at New York, we received from our friend Harriet Martineau, a complete copy of her "Illustrations of Political Economy." The following lines show Dr. Follen's sense of the value of this beautiful work.

"*New York, October* 17*th*, 1836.

"DEAR HARRIET,

"We have just received your sweet, affectionate letter, with the beautiful present and your eye-blinding love-messages. These works are precious to the world for what they have done, and still more as an earnest of greater things, which you are called to do. They are inexpressibly dear to us as an expression of your friendship, a treasure, which, I hope, we shall never feel tempted to keep laid up in the napkin of our own selfishness. We would rather keep it, as the German travelling mechanics do their piece of gold, at the bottom of their purse, for evil days when

we feel beggared by the desertion from principle of those around us, or rather as a capital, from which you have a right to expect from us the highest interest.

"I have just heard, that the committee of Mr. Ware's parish have resolved to ask me to spend the winter there. I do not know the terms yet, but I suppose they will be such as I shall accept, and I rejoice at the great sphere that seems opening before me. Ever affectionately yours,

"C. FOLLEN."

In a journal, which Dr. Follen kept during the first part of our residence in New York, I find, that the first sermon he preached there, was from 2 Corinthians, iv. 13, — "While we look not at the things which are seen," &c. He spoke without notes, and, as I was told, with great power and eloquence. Few men could speak with the realizing conviction, that he could, upon such a theme. All felt, that he spoke of what he truly believed; that he set before them truths, by which he lived, and for which he stood ready, if necessary, to die.

As soon as a satisfactory arrangement was made between him and the trustees of the Society, and our lodgings were engaged, he came to Boston to be ordained, in order that he might be able to administer the ordinances. This ceremony took place on the 30th of October, in Dr. Channing's church. Mr. Stetson preached the sermon, Dr. Walker gave the charge, Mr. George Ripley gave the right hand of fellowship, Dr. Parkman made the ordaining prayer, and Dr. Channing the concluding prayer.

He gave, during his visit to Boston, a proof of his sweetness of temper and perfect self-control, that will never be forgotten by him who was the occasion of it. One of the clergymen, whom he asked to assist at his ordination, before he consented, made, as he himself told me, a most vehement attack upon Dr. Follen, for his devotion to the cause of Abolition. It was in the street. Dr. Follen heard him patiently to the end of his sharp rebuke, and then simply said, "Will you not, in spite of my offences, be willing to assist at my ordination?" He consented; and no man has been more eloquent than he in praising the virtues, which he had himself so severely and sternly tested. In speaking of this to me, Dr. Follen said, very quietly, "Mr. —— has given me a lecture, but he will assist at my ordination."

Dr. Follen returned to New York with his heart full of hope and joy at the thought of the wide sphere of usefulness, which was now opened to him. Some one was expatiating to him upon the misery, and vice, and irreligion, that were to be found in New York. "That is one great reason," he replied, "why I covet the office of a Christian teacher there; in such a place I see something to be done; I hope to do some good there."

Some one of the society had said to him, that, if he could dissolve his connexion with the Anti-slavery Society, or if he, at least, would refrain from acting with them, it would be greatly to his advantage, and secure his settlement. He, of course, disdained such an unworthy thought; but it reminded him of

the importance of making himself fully understood upon the subject. He therefore, on the next Sunday, preached upon the duties of a Christian minister. One of these, he said, was to give his attention to all the efforts of philanthropy throughout the world. All benevolent associations should receive his hearty coöperation, as far as they recommended themselves to his conscience; he then mentioned among others the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, as having claims upon the Christian minister. He described the Christian ministry, when rightly understood, as an enlarged spiritual friendship, involving mutual duties, and mutual rights and pleasures. Dr. Follen had entered upon his labors with a joyful alacrity. He preached with great fervor, for he believed every word that he spoke; he preached with faith, faith in the truths that he uttered, faith in the Infinite Spirit, faith in his own soul, and in the souls of his hearers. When he saw a crowd of human beings assembled around him, he did not look upon them as rich or poor, weak or powerful, wise or simple, gentlemen or ladies, but literally and simply as immortal spirits, absent from their true home, and seeking the way back to their Father-land. He thought none so pure that he might not fall, none so degraded that he might not rise; and he always preached with the feeling, that the salvation of souls might be the consequence of the truths he should declare. I can never forget his first administration of the Supper. It seemed as if He who first broke the bread of life to man was there, and as if we were indeed entering into a new covenant

to stand ready to live and to die in his cause and for his religion.

The following letter to Harriet Martineau was written a short time after our return to New York from Boston.

"*November 26th*, 1836.

"My dear Friend,

"I have just been on board the *Orpheus*, where Captain Bursley, at Charley's request, showed us the berth you occupied on your homeward voyage. O, how mere emptiness can fill the soul! It seemed to me as if the spirit of your dreams were hovering still over your place of rest. Charley was in hopes we might find some one of your things, which you perhaps had left. He was only seeking without what he unconsciously bears in his little heart, where you occupy the best berth.

"Eliza has told you all about us, and something of what is going on within us. As settlers in a new sphere of action, we find more than enough to exercise all our faculties; so I have only time for a few words.

"I have attended twice the meetings of the Seventy Agents of the American Anti-slavery Society in this city. Beriah Green, the President of the Oneida Institute, gave us an excellent exposition of the parable of the good Samaritan, showing that the bonds of Christian neighbourhood are close and intimate in proportion to the distress and degradation of our fellowmen. He exposed the false greatness of those in the

Christian church, whose saintship had eaten up their humanity. The whole object of Christ was to destroy all factitious greatness and rank among men, and elevate humanity; his tendency was decidedly radical. He declared, that, if it could be proved, that the Bible sanctioned slavery, if the God of the Bible thus contradicted the God of nature, he was ready to join the cause of Deism. You see what anti-slavery is doing here among the strongest defenders of Orthodoxy; more than all our theological controversies. He ridiculed our preaching saloons, with mahogany pews, mahogany pulpits, and mahogany ministers.

"Anti-slavery is spreading more and more, particularly in the democratic party. Several counties in this State are wholly abolitionized. In the State of Vermont, the candidates of both parties for the highest offices are anti-slavery men. The cities alone are strong places of the pro-slavery party. Give my affectionate regards to your brother.

"Ever yours,

"C. FOLLEN."

There was every indication, that Dr. Follen's preaching and ministry were satisfactory to the people. He formed numerous and valuable acquaintances, and he thought, that at last he had found a satisfactory sphere of exertion and usefulness. The first interruption to this happy confidence was in consequence of some remarks upon slavery, in his sermon on Thanksgiving day. Before he went to church, he said to me, "I am going to preach the sermon that I

wrote two or three years ago for Thanksgiving day, and preached at Cambridgeport; but there is a passage in it on slavery, which I fear will offend some of my hearers, and I should be sorry to offend them." After a short pause, he added, "The truth is, the reason that I hesitate about this passage is, that I fear that it may so displease the people, that they will not settle me, and I do wish to remain here; but I must be unshackled, I must speak my honest mind, and take the consequences. What do you think?" "That you ought to do just as you have said; you must 'speak your honest mind.'" Upon reading the original passage, he was not satisfied with it, and said, "I shall extemporize this part of my discourse, and be governed by my convictions at the time, and say what my feelings may prompt me to utter." His audience was large, for his and Mr. Dewey's society united on that day; his sermon seemed to excite great interest, till he came to the subject of slavery; before he had concluded the first sentence of his remarks, two gentlemen rose and went out of the church, looking very angry. Many others showed signs of displeasure or alarm, and his words evidently excited a strong sensation through the whole society. He saw the two gentlemen go out; but he went on with his subject, without the slightest alteration in his tone or manner, so that even I thought that he did not notice them. One of these gentlemen, he was told afterwards, repented of this act, and came again to hear him; the other never. I said to him, as I came out of the church, that, from what I had noticed, I was cer-

tain, that what he had said would never be forgiven by some of the people. He replied, "I hope better things, but I could not do otherwise; I should have despised myself if I had." He had given his testimony from a sense of duty, and he felt he had nothing to do with the result, but to endure the evil if any arose from it. As soon as he returned home, he wrote down the words he had spoken that gave so much offence; they will be found in his sermon upon the text, "Rejoice evermore." In the following letters to his friends Mr. M'Kay, Dr. Channing, and Harriet Martineau, he mentions the subject; but his mind is evidently more occupied with other affairs, that had no reference to self.

TO MR. M'KAY.

"*New York, January 2d*, 1837.

"My dear Sir,

"I will not enter upon this new year without doing something toward palliating what must seem to you an unaccountable neglect on my part, in not answering your last letter, which has been in my hands more than two months. I can only explain, and must leave it to your generosity to pardon, what I cannot excuse. Your letter reached Stockbridge during my absence at New York, where I had begun an engagement to preach to the society, which Mr. Ware had left. I afterwards received an invitation to preach there for six months, and during the confusing labor of moving my family to New York, finding and furnishing rooms, writing sermons, going to Boston to

be ordained, and settling my economical affairs in Cambridge, &c. &c., I have neglected many things, in which those who are not acquainted with the cause, must think me very faulty. I ought, however, to have written to you some lines, at least, instead of delaying till I should be able to give you a satisfactory answer. I can assure you, nevertheless, that if you had written to me of your project of going to Europe, not as a mere possibility, but as a certainty, or probability, I should have answered at once, and offered such letters of introduction as I could give.

"You did not mention in your letter how much time you think of spending in Europe; and, without knowing this, I can only give you such general advice as you probably do not want.

"Among the great collections of works of art, I need not mention Dresden and Munich, but I would suggest to you, if possible, to go to Stuttgard, to see the collection of old German paintings, belonging to the king, and collected by Boisserée. From the beginning of July to the end of August, is the best time for Switzerland, and sufficient to see all that is interesting, if you are industrious. I will give you a letter to my brother, who lives on an estate on the banks of the lake of Zurich, and who will give you good advice with regard to your tour. A pedestrian tour, or mules with a good guide, in the mountains, is the best mode of travelling.

"The banks of the Rhine, and the people there, should be seen about the time of vintage, that is, towards the end of September or the beginning of Octo-

ber. In the most interesting part, that is, from Mayence to Bonn, it is best to go in a boat (not in the steamboat), and occasionally by land, on either side, making a bargain with the boatman to land you where you please. Do not forget the old cathedrals on the banks, particularly that at Oppenheim, before you come to Mayence. Of all the Gothic monuments, the dome of Cologne is the greatest and best. It requires study; it is altogether the highest work of the middle ages that I know. If you go to Strasburg, spend your time at the Minster; the other places, which the vanity of the burghers points out to travellers, waste the time that ought to be spent there.

"For Italy, the winter and the opening spring is the most interesting time. Paris is much the same at all seasons. I have given you here a few intimations, and I shall be very glad to tell you all I know, as soon as you acquaint me more fully with your plan.

"The continuation of my residence here is doubtful, though my prospects are good, my anti-slavery principles excepted; but there is a great change going on in that respect. Have you seen 'The Plain Dealer'?

"I send you a copy of my Tract.

"Truly your friend,

"C. FOLLEN."

TO THE REV. DR. CHANNING.

"*New York, January 12th*, 1837.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I thank you for your kind, affectionate lines accompanying your 'Letter to Mr. Binney.' The gener-

ous spirit that prompted it will move every kindred mind, however misguided by prejudice, and open the eyes of many who have yet to learn, that not only the slavery of the colored people, but the freedom of the white, depends on the issue of the anti-slavery movement. The letter is a faithful representation of the great contest between the spirit of bondage, and the spirit of power, and love, and a sound mind ; and I can truly say, that I have not seen a document that sets forth so impressively the all-important truth, that, as the Abolitionists rely on no other power than that of free discussion, their fate indicates, and in fact decides, that of the country. What I have to object, is implied in Mr. Binney's remark, that, among the motives of slave-holders, you have not given sufficient prominence to the reckless love of gain, the grasping and unrelenting attachment to property, whatever it consists in, and in whatever way it has been acquired. I fear, also, that your representation of the better portion of the anti-Abolitionists, will be embraced as a shame-saving apology by many impenitent abettors and well-wishers of oppression. I could also wish, that your censure of the Abolitionists had been as clearly defined as your generous expression of what you approve in their conduct. More distinct and pointed censure would have benefited them, and deprived the enemies of their cause of a means of arming themselves with quotations, which, taken by themselves, imply a more general condemnation than they actually contain, when held together by other parts of the letter.

" I have found it easy to set forth in a few lines all the faults I could see in your 'Letter'; I find no words

adequate to express the satisfaction and delight which Eliza and myself have derived from its just, and generous, and inspiring contents. It richly deserves the glory of vindictive abuse, which it has already called forth, and the substantial and deeply gratifying reward of making the scales fall from many eyes.

"I have shown the postscript to your note, in which you express the importance of inquiring into the foundation of G. Smith's remark concerning the chief motive of those who keep men in bondage, to my friend Angelina Grimké, as the person best fitted to answer this question, and she intends to write to you on the subject. You recollect her beautiful letter to Garrison, after the Boston mob; and you have probably seen her address to her sisters at the South. She and her sister Sarah, both Quakeresses, devote themselves entirely to the great work of universal emancipation. The ladies of the Anti-slavery Society in this city have meetings at private houses, and in vestries of churches, to which they invite other ladies (no gentlemen), who wish to know something of this cause, to meet these two sisters from Charleston; and I understand they are producing a strong impression, by bringing forward what they have themselves seen and known from childhood. They intend to visit Boston in the course of a month, and I hope that you will see them often and intimately. They are free from the prejudices of those Abolitionists, who think that the cause can be promoted only in their own way; their views of social reform, extend far beyond the grossest form of servitude, as it exists

at the South; and their simplicity, gentleness, and dignity, cannot fail to gain the confidence of every upright mind.

"Mrs. F—— has told you of what happened on Thanksgiving day at my church. I shall give to my *friend* Mr. Spring, who brings you this, a copy of the remarks made on that occasion. The greatest part was extempore, but written down immediately after service, as it was fresh in my memory. It is possible that the excitement produced by this homœopathic dose may have an influence on our remaining here; but I cannot judge. In case we should not remain, I should like to have the temporary care of some parish, or the supply of a pulpit, in the neighbourhood of Boston. I long after some time to myself, to devote it to the continuation of my little work on Religion, which has not been touched in this busy city. My 'Psychology' is put upon the shelf. Have you seen the seven first numbers of 'The Plain Dealer,' edited by Leggett, formerly the partner of Bryant in publishing the 'Evening Post'? There is nothing in the political world, that has refreshed and quickened my spirit like this manly and candid expression of well-informed individual opinion and honest independence. I am happy to learn, that the *number* of subscribers is increasing continually. I hope that you, or our friend Mr. J. Phillips, will subscribe. All I have seen and heard of Leggett gives me a high idea of his character.

"If you have a leisure half hour, I wish you would look at an article I wrote in the last October number

of the 'Quarterly Anti-slavery Magazine,' edited by Elizur Wright. Mr. Sewall will procure it for you. The article is entitled, 'The Cause of Freedom in our Country.'

"I thank you for your remarks on what you have heard about my preaching, and I shall endeavour to improve by them.

"Last Friday we had a public meeting at the Tabernacle, (the largest hall in the city, used as a free church,) for the purpose of considering the high price of bread as being caused in part by the immense quantity of bread stuff consumed in the distilleries; one million two hundred thousand bushels being used up annually in this city alone! The meeting was called by the Temperance Society; and I think a strong impression would have been produced on this great assembly of working men, if the speakers had directed all their strength to the main point, instead of going over the whole ground of the temperance enterprise, and ministering to the amusement of the audience by anecdotes and puns. Being the first among those who were appointed to speak, I did what I could to give to the discussion an efficient tendency, but without success.

"Mr. Dewey is very popular in his ministry. I see him regularly every Monday forenoon, when we have a ministerial conference, including Mr. Barlow and Mr. Arnold, and your nephew W. H. Channing, who are doing much good in their arduous calling.

"The trustees of my church are endeavouring to sell their meetinghouse in Chambers Street. It is

as you probably recollect, small, and in the afternoon so dark, that I find it often difficult to read. The pews are small, and twice as dear as those in Mr. Dewey's; and most of the people live at a great distance from it, and generally in the neighbourhood of Mr. Dewey's. This was the cause which induced a number of individuals and families belonging to the lower church, to leave it, while Mr. Ware was still here, and to join the upper. Since my appointment, there have been a number of applicants for pews in my church, but, on learning the price, the applications were withdrawn. These, and other circumstances, impede the growth of the society; and I look upon the sale of the present place of worship, and the purchase of another, in a more eligible part of the city, as a most important step, which will undoubtedly be brought about as soon as the money market is relieved from its present pressure. I fear the people do not feel that affectionate and active interest in each other, without which the external bond of meeting at the same house, and listening to the same teacher, is but a very imperfect union. The forenoon service is generally well attended, but in the afternoon I see only a small number, from fifty to eighty. Some cannot very well go twice on account of the distance; others stay at home because they divide the day with their domestics; others think one sermon more profitable than two; others consider the afternoon as the only time in the week when they can read, or be with their children. For it is a fact, that, on week days, most men spend their whole time in business, away

from their families, to which they only return late in the evening, unfit for improvement or enjoyment. All these, and other circumstances, make the majority of my people inclined to give up the afternoon service, and I think it probable, that they will come to this decision.

"I have seen —— since the death of her grandchild. She seems exhausted with fatigue, and care, and grief, but supported and quickened by pious submission and unwavering faith. The sufferings of little children seem to me the darkest passage in the book of Providence. The light of another life alone may be strong enough to solve the mystery.

"I wish, and many of my people and acquaintances here have expressed the same desire, that you would visit this city next spring, and give a new impulse to the cause of liberal Christianity amongst us. I beg you to take this into consideration, and, if possible, to comply with the request. We long to see you face to face again, and to live over the past in confidential conversation.

"Yours, ever truly,

"C. FOLLEN."

"*New York, February 7th*, 1837.

"DEAR HARRIET,

"I have kept this letter more than three weeks hoping that I should have time to add my mite of love. But though longed for, leisure time has not come yet; so that I must confine myself to communicating to you so much of the passing events, as may

enable you to keep up your intimate acquaintance with the texture of our lives, in which, while we are taking up many new strings, we hold fast the golden thread your friendship has woven in.

"You know, that since the beginning of October last, I have been preaching here in William Ware's place, and have had unequivocal proofs of success. I took care, in the beginning, to acquaint the people with my abolitionism, and in my first sermon on the duties of the ministry, I said, that the pulpit ought to give support to every benevolent enterprise, and particularly mentioned, among others, the abolition of slavery in our country. No objection was made at the time. But in my Thanksgiving sermon I introduced the subject again, insisting particularly on free discussion, and opposition to the violent interference of mobs. Mr. Dewey, who was in the pulpit with me, told me afterwards, that he approved all I had said, though he had doubts as to the policy of bringing it forward. But the impression made by this small part of my sermon was very strong; and two influential men, one who belongs to my society, and another who belongs to Mr. Dewey's, left the meetinghouse in great anger, while I was speaking. I have been blamed by many for introducing this subject, though they all agree, that what I said was true, and that old custom allowed the preacher on Thanksgiving day to preach on politics. It is somewhat doubtful now whether they will settle me here permanently, though they declare themselves satisfied in other respects. I feel sure, that if I had known the conse-

quences, I should have changed nothing, either in matter or manner. So we feel quite easy, come what may. The Deputy Postmaster, who is very influential in the democratic party, strongly approved of the part I had taken, and so did a few others; but the majority are either angry, or afraid, or sorry.

"Have you seen 'The Plain Dealer,' a new weekly publication issued in this city by Leggett? 'The Plain Dealer,' is decidedly the most independent, thorough-going, and candid democratic paper, that this country has produced. It has taken a noble stand in the anti-slavery cause, and fearlessly and uncompromisingly criticizes the leaders of the democratic as well as the whig party. I will see that you have a copy. On your petition for an international copyright law, Leggett takes opposite ground, but admits every thing that is sent him in defence of the opposite side, and I have some hope that he will come round to what we think the right view of the subject. The eleventh number of 'The Plain Dealer' contains a long, elaborate article which I wrote; and I shall, in the next number, refute the few objections which he still makes. Meanwhile the memorial has been committed in the Senate to a committee, that consists of Clay, Preston, Webster, Buchanan, and Ewing. I intend to write to Mr. Webster, and send him what I have written on the subject.

"Leggett's reasoning would be powerful, if it were directed against the whole institution of private property; but, as he acknowledges this as most conducive to the greatest happiness of the greatest number,

his opposition to that one species of private property is powerless.

"When you write to your brother James, remember me to him affectionately. His book is doing much good, wherever it goes.

"I had a talk lately with Mr. ——, who expressed the want of a periodical such as we thought of, and he offered to head a subscription list for 'All Sides' with one thousand dollars, to secure the editor from loss during the first two years. If I do not permanently engage in the ministry, I think of making the attempt, counting on your coöperation. I hope some lines from you will soon gladden our eyes and hearts.

"Yours in truth and love,

"C. FOLLEN."

The character of the periodical to which Dr. Follen refers in this letter, may be understood by its name. He had long wished to see such a paper established, where not only every subject of general interest might be discussed, but where all the different aspects under which it might be viewed should be fairly given. He drew up a plan for such a periodical, and, had he given up the ministry at that time, he doubtless would have attempted to carry it into effect. A plan of this paper will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

As there was such a small number of hearers in the afternoon, the service in the Chambers-Street Church was changed to the evening. Dr. Follen commenced at this time a course of lectures upon his views of

Christianity. The trustees of the society thought it best to advertise this course in the newspapers, and notice was given every week what subject would be taken up the following Sunday evening. This brought many strangers to the church. The house was often so crowded, that there was not a vacant seat. This was very encouraging to the preacher; and he spoke with great eloquence and power. He studied the subject faithfully before he entered the pulpit, made a very few notes of the different heads of his discourse, and then spoke at least an hour from the fulness of his soul, with a feeling of the infinite importance, and a faith in the reality, of the truths he was uttering, that had an irresistible effect upon the minds of his hearers.

This was a period of great enjoyment to Dr. Follen. He would often say, when he returned from preaching to a large audience, "'T is a great pleasure to feel that I am making all these people conscious that they have souls." He never hesitated for words in speaking, either in his argument or in the illustration of his subject. He never, although he spoke extempore, repeated himself. A friend resolved one evening to watch him particularly through his whole discourse, to see if he did not repeat the same argument or some particular expression; but he said he did not detect a single repetition, except where it was intentional and appropriate.

One of Dr. Follen's pleasures this winter was in assisting Dr. Foresti and Mr. Castiglia in acquiring the English language. We met these gentlemen a

Mr. Maroncelli's, just after their arrival in this country, and offered to teach them our language. For fourteen years they had suffered the cruel imprisonment of the Spielberg as a punishment for their allegiance to liberty and humanity. They were of course as brothers to us. The friendship which this led to with these interesting men was a source of great pleasure to us.

As the term for which Dr. Follen was engaged expired on the 1st of April, a meeting of the pew-holders was called in March, to decide whether he should be invited to remain longer with them. I copy from a diary, which he kept at that time, his account of the result of the meeting.

"March 19th, 1837. Meeting of the pew-holders. Result of the vote. 1st vote, Shall Rev. Dr. Follen be invited to remain with us? Yeas 27, nays 16. 2d vote, For how long a time? For one year 28, for two years 6. Some of my friends advised me to refuse; but, after examination, it was found that the first vote was understood as proposing a temporary arrangement; by which means those who were for a permanent settlement and those who were opposed to any, voted on the same side. The real opposition was thus reduced to three. I was then advised and urged to accept, and I accepted. Terms for one year, with 9 weeks' vacation, 2000 dollars, with the prospect of 2500 if the means of the society increased."

When the result of the meeting was first made known to Dr. Follen, with the advice that he should

not accept the invitation to remain, he received it as calmly and sweetly as if it were what he expected, and agreed, directly, that it was best that he should refuse to remain. When we were alone, however, he said with strong emotion, "Surely it is not wrong here to confess my disappointment. O how bitterly I feel it. Through my whole life I have labored for the highest objects, and have been actuated by the most elevated purposes, and in all things I have apparently failed. I cannot help feeling this deeply." "This is not failure," said I; "this is what we both expected; others prefer bonds, you prefer freedom, and we must be willing to pay the penalty annexed to the choice." "True," he said, "and so we are; if you care nothing about it, neither do I." A day or two before this occurred, he had received a letter from Judge Cranch, of Washington, inviting him to preach in the Unitarian Church there for as long a time as would be convenient to him, and particularly desiring him to repeat the course of lectures he had been delivering in New York, of which he had heard very high praise. Having just then relinquished the hope of remaining in New York, he immediately accepted this invitation, and engaged to preach in Washington through the whole month of April. It was not till some days afterwards, that his friends, by satisfying him that it was only two or three who opposed his remaining in New York, induced him to change his original purpose and continue there another year. Perhaps this was a mistake; he often thought himself that it was. He determined

to fulfil his engagement at Washington, and therefore his new connexion with the society did not commence till the 1st of May.

In the following letter to Harriet Martineau, written just after the meeting of the pew-holders, he does not directly speak of his disappointment; but the general tone indicates, that the remembrance of it had not passed away.

"*New York, March 25th*, 1837.

"DEAR HARRIET,

"Eliza has given you all the particulars you need, to follow us through the various scenes we have passed through, to fancy or rather to feel yourself in the midst of us. Our best pleasures never fail to bid you be present and rejoice with us, and in every disappointment of our faith in others, we feel assured that *you* would not misjudge our intentions, nor fear to have your own misinterpreted.

I have but just time to tell you how gloriously Massachusetts has entered into the anti-slavery cause. You were present at the insulting treatment we received from the committee of the legislature last winter. This winter the Hall of Representatives was granted to the Anti-slavery Society to hold their meetings in, and on the 21st of this month the House passed three resolutions, which, but for their length, I should copy for you. They declare slavery a great social, moral, and political evil; they protest against the resolution of Congress, by which all petitions relating to slavery are laid on the table without being

referred, as a virtual denial of the constitutional right of petition, and a violation of the inherent, absolute, and inalienable rights of man ; they assert, that Congress possesses the right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and that its exercise should be restrained only by a regard to the public good. These resolutions passed the House of Representatives by 378 votes against 16. It is again the mass of the people, the country in opposition to the city of Boston, that has taken this stand upon principle. So it was in the time of the American Revolution, and so it will be in every case of collision between the rights of man and the prerogatives of wealth.

Every day we hear of new failures among the merchants here and in other cities ; and I verily believe, that nothing but this violent head wind will check the mad career of speculation, and prove what houses are built on the rock of individual exertion, and what on the sand of a factitious credit. The people will be better off, and I hope a little wiser, in the end.

" Yours in true love,

" C. FOLLEN."

Dr. Follen was received with great kindness in Washington, and, but for the severe illness of our little boy, he would have enjoyed his visit there highly. One of the society, just before he entered the pulpit, urged him, courteously and respectfully, not to say any thing upon the subject of slavery, adding that he did not think his character, his sacred office, or any other consideration, would save him from personal

insult if he did. As he was to be there but for a short time, and as it had been taken for granted, when he was invited, that he would be silent on this subject, Dr. Follen thought it his duty to accede to the wishes of the people. But all the more was the cause in his heart, and all the more fervently did he strive to awaken in the hearts of his hearers such a reverence for the rights of humanity, such a contempt for life and all the goods of life, when put in opposition to duty, as should rouse in them the holy purpose to break every bond, whether of iron, of prejudice, or of sin.

In a letter to Dr. Channing, written at this time, he says;

"And how, you ask, is it that I, the incendiary, and my equally incendiary partner, are here in the midst of this slave-holding community. I came here at the urgent request of Judge Cranch and the committee of the Unitarian Society, to preach to them; and have succeeded in drawing a good number to the church on Sunday and on Thursday evenings, to hear my lectures on Unitarian Christianity. The forenoon service, too, is more fully attended than it was on the first Sunday. I am obliged to be silent on abolition, but I preach, with all my might, on the dignity and rights of human nature, on the great texts, 'Honor all men,' and 'All ye are brethren,' and pray for the oppressed. There is now and then, apparently, an expectation of hearing rank abolition doctrine; but I avoid exciting words, and let the principles make

the desired impression. I have never been so strongly impressed with the intrinsic anti-slavery tendency of Unitarianism, as taking its stand on the absolute worth and eternal destiny of human nature."

He preached at Washington with an uncommon freedom and eloquence ; there seemed to be a quickening power in his words. The church filled up. Many, who said they could not tell him of the impression he had made upon them, poured out their full hearts to me. Judge Cranch told me, that he thought his manner and his matter a perfect model of pulpit eloquence. One Sunday, after service, some gentlemen, whom he had never before seen, came and introduced themselves to him, and told him, that they could not resist the impulse they felt to come and thank him for the pleasure he had given them, and for the good they had received from him. They told him, that they never should forget the words he had spoken to them that morning. I doubt not, that there are many hearts in Washington who remember him in love, and whose holiest purposes are strengthened whenever they think of him. Some friends there expressed a wish, that he would come and remain as pastor of the church ; and he repeatedly said to me, that but for slavery he should have liked to go, but no inducement could tempt him to remain there unless he were free to speak against this great sin. But the kindness he received from various individuals at Washington made an indelible impression upon his heart ; and he often spoke of it with deep feeling.

CHAPTER XIX.

Dr. Follen returns to New York. — Lectures on Infidelity. — Goes to Stockbridge. — Letters to Harriet Martineau. — He returns to New York. — Death of Lovejoy. — Interview with Darusmond. — Causes of Dr. Follen's leaving New York. — His Farewell Sermon.

Dr. Follen resumed his ministry in New York with new energy. In order that we might perform our duties to the parish more perfectly, we went to housekeeping. He did not think a Christian minister performed all his duties unless he lived in the constant exercise of hospitality, simple and true, free from all ostentation, and supported by a self-denying economy. Dr. Follen knew that his future prospects were precarious. He was aware, that there were some influential individuals in the society, who were opposed to him in all things; he felt that he was again doomed to suffer suspense, and perhaps disappointment; but he succeeded in his efforts to cast off all the hopes and fears that belong to such a state; indeed all cares that centred in self were soon dismissed by him. But such was his disposition to believe what he hoped, that, when he thought of the

subject at all, he felt a great degree of certainty that he should remain.

A proposal was made to him during this year to take charge of another society, with the view of making him the pastor; but he refused, on the ground that he was pledged to the church at New York. Directly after his return he commenced a course of lectures in the church, on infidelity, which was well attended; the house was always full. Many of those men who are so unhappy as to have doubts with regard to Christianity came to hear him. He declared at the outset his determination to do justice to the infidels, as they are called; he disliked the term as it was usually applied. He said, in one of his lectures, "I would rather call him an unbeliever than an infidel (I mean the conscientious skeptic), whose life is governed by the precepts of religion, though his mind is not satisfied of its evidence. To charge such a man with wilful unbelief is as unjustifiable as to accuse a man of dishonesty, who, in casting up an account, has committed a mistake by which he himself is the loser." He pointed out the advantage and the duty of examining the objections to Christianity, and of studying the infidel writers, especially to those who are not satisfied with regard to the foundation of their faith. He spoke in these words of his own experience. "For myself, I can certainly say, that, next to the Gospel itself, the books that have been written against it have been the most efficient promoters of my belief in its divine truth. Every difficulty we leave unexamined will become a cause of doubt to us, whereas, through

a faithful investigation, it might have become an additional ground of conviction. Let us not shun, nay, let us challenge every doubt which may present itself with regard to our immortality." He thought skepticism was natural to many of the highest and most honest minds ; it grew out of their earnest desire to be assured of the rational foundations of their faith. It was, he thought, necessary to many to pass through a period of skepticism. "We must," he said, "have more skepticism before we can expect to have more faith ; or rather, society will make progress only so far as it becomes courageous in the confession of its doubts. There should be a free interchange of thought, and a confession of doubt. The fear of saying all that is in our hearts produces skepticism."

He reviewed, during this course of lectures, all the most celebrated writers and theories of infidelity ; the French Encyclopedists, Hobbes, Hume, Tom Paine, and Fanny Wright. He vituperated none, he sneered at none, he treated them all with respect. He took Paine's "Age of Reason" into the pulpit, and read an eloquent passage from it, proving that he believed in God and in the immortality of the soul, and simply stated, that in the same pages were to be found the grossest indecencies. He pointed out the inconsistencies of unbelievers, the false grounds of their arguments, and showed that, in spite of themselves, they could not get rid of a belief in immortality. He then showed, that fair and free inquiry would lead to faith. Christianity, rightly understood, instead of checking free inquiry, invites it, and opens to it an infinite sphere.

"Christianity is," he said, "the most efficient skepticism, when directed against imposition and blind credulity. Christianity is the deepest science, the most sublime philosophy, adapted to the capacity of a little child, yet transcending the wisdom of the wisest." He dwelt most eloquently upon the importance to the cause of religion, that believers should have a deep and well-grounded faith themselves, before they attempted to convert others. "Those who reject Christianity because of its supposed inconsistency with nature, experience, and reason, can be convinced of their error only by those who have embraced it, because of its perfect agreement with the demands of reason, the teachings of experience, and the deepest wants of human nature. The atheist in his pride is more imperfect than the most rude and confined worshipper of Deity; for the former wants entirely that deepest and greatest effort of the mind, of which the other possesses at least a degree. The principles of man's immortality being acknowledged in the New Testament ought not to be considered a check to our inquiry, whether this doctrine has any other foundation beside that evidence. God has given us this infinite desire of extending our knowledge as far as possible, and if we have not made this use of our endowments, we do not feel assured that there are no reasons for doubting. Many think that calling in question the truths of the doctrines of the New Testament is a kind of irreverence; but to me it seems, on the contrary, that the true foundation of our abiding belief in its truth is, that its fundamen-

tal doctrines may at all times be put to the test of fair reasoning, that its principles are not a mere matter of fact and history, but of free investigation and conviction. The Bible gives us only means of arriving at truth, not truth itself. I believe in the Bible because the Bible believes in me. I find the law and the prophets in my own soul."

These are a few of the fragments which I have been able to put together from separate scraps of paper and the few notes which he made for this course of lectures. He never wrote any of them. Many of the "Society of Free Inquirers" came to hear him; some never left him afterwards. Some Christians objected that he was so fair to the infidels, that he made them appear almost right. After the course was finished, a very respectable man, who had been in the habit of going on Sunday to hear the unbelievers, said to one of the trustees of the Chambers-Street Church, that he would secure 1500 dollars to Dr. Follen if he would deliver that course of lectures in Tammany Hall, their place of meeting. The gentleman to whom he made this proposal, supposing the thing impossible, replied, that he had better, instead of doing this, take a pew in the church and bring his family to meeting. He did so; but Dr. Follen always regretted that he had not known this fact before, for in some way or other he should have met such a desire. Shortly after this time this man's wife died, and one of the last wishes she expressed, was, that Dr. Follen might officiate at her funeral; her husband came once or twice to pass an evening

with us. He was a well-informed, sensible man, a mechanic.

When the hot weather came on, Dr. Follen was glad to avail himself of the permission granted him by the society, to take a respite from his labors for a few weeks. In July we went to Stockbridge, where we engaged lodgings for the two hot months. He enjoyed highly his return to this beautiful village. Well do I remember his delight when we arrived there, at finding that a kind friend had provided and furnished a nice study table for him in the apartment we were to occupy. "It is dear J—— that has done this," he said. As soon as we were established, he took up his favorite "Psychology" again. All his mornings he devoted to this, his dearest occupation, the afternoons and evenings to the delightful circle of friends that were around us, and to the enjoyment, with his wife and child, of God's glorious world, in which he was ever a true worshipper. These beautiful hours he enjoyed with the simplicity and heartiness of a child, and with the sublime joy of the truly pure in heart, who see God in every thing good and lovely. Some lines, which he wrote for a young friend, who asked him to write something in her album, show his serene and happy state of mind. He shrank from writing in albums, but he could not bear to refuse her request; and, under a drawing of a windmill, he wrote the following.

"TO D. H.

"Being desirous to comply with your request

dear Delia, that I would write something in your album, and at the same time wishing to give something more than an assurance of what you already know, my affectionate interest in you, I find my state of mind strikingly exemplified by the windmill above. For, as the windmill, being generally found in dry, sterile places, is dependent on every chance wind, as well as on the grain in the hopper, in order to produce something that is worth the grinding, so my mind lacks not only the subject to work upon, but the spirit to turn the wheels, that something not altogether unsightly and unpalatable may come to light. In this state of intellectual dependence, brought on by living for some time rather beyond my intellectual means, there is but one thing I have to say to you. As I am generally engaged in grave and laborious pursuits, I feel greatly dependent, not only on the never-failing support of faith and long-tried friendship, but moreover on the passing, kindly influences, that chance to meet and cheer me on the toilsome path. I feel dependent for a vigorous and hopeful spirit, on now and then a kind word, the loud laugh of a child, or the silent greeting of a flower; now a visit from an old friend, and now a new acquaintance. New acquaintances are precious to me, both for their own sakes, and because they lead me to think that, if we only knew it, we should find, in our daily walk, brothers and sisters, who are all the while passing themselves off as strangers, and who, if it were not for these accidental recognitions, must remain strangers until the curtain rises for the last act, that is to unfold

the plot of the long and complicated play. Such, my dear Delia, has been the effect of our short and incidental acquaintance with you; making us feel as if we had always known you and as if a longer acquaintance would only make us love you more and more.

"C. FOLLEN.

"*Stockbridge, July*, 1837."

The "Psychology" proceeded slowly. Dr. Follen found it difficult to satisfy his mind upon some important questions, but he made some progress. But this was rather in making his preparations for the work, and in the arrangement of his views and plans, than in the completion of any part of it. It was a great pleasure to be in the room with him, when he was engaged in a work deeply interesting to him. Intellectual labor was a high enjoyment to him; it seemed the true element of his soul. Conversation between others did not interrupt him, unless it was upon a subject in which he had a peculiar interest. Sometimes he liked to walk out in the open air by himself when he wanted to think out a difficult question. At others, he liked to have me go with him, and talk it over fully; and nothing could exceed his delight when he could say at last, "The thing is quite clear to me now." He did not like to have any solitary pleasure. As soon as he had written any thing to his own satisfaction, he wished to read it to a friend, and to know his impressions. He had no undue sensitiveness in relation to his own writings; he was

more afraid that a defect should be passed over, than that a fault should be discovered. He thanked any one heartily, that pointed out an error in reasoning, or in expression. "Be ye perfect," was the motto of his every-day life in little as well as great things.

From his letters to Harriet Martineau this summer, I extract only the following passages.

"*Stockbridge, July 10th*, 1837.

"DEAR HARRIET,

"I have just received a few lines from J. G. Whittier, the poet of freedom and of the people, and I give you his words. 'I have just read Miss Martineau's book, and, as Uncle Toby said of Yorick's sermon, I like it hugely.' I have no time to give you more than the general impression on my mind. You have judged the nation by the standard they set up for themselves on entering upon independent existence, as being a law unto themselves. Your judgment, I think, is right in all essentials. You have pointed out the two most striking national characteristics; 'Deficiency of individual moral independence, and extraordinary mutual respect and kindness.'

"To me the most precious chapter in the book, in practical importance, and the authentic seal of your mission, is that on property. The warmest friends of progress, that have borrowed your voice to wake the people to its true glory, and its true danger, have still passed by that subject. Yet it is that very subject, that will agitate the inmost life of the people, until its faith has grown strong enough to remove a mountain of unequal laws."

During this summer Dr. Follen had the great pleasure of becoming more intimately acquainted with Confalonieri, that truly noble victim of tyranny. He passed a number of days in Stockbridge, and was often with us. It was an affecting, a soul-stirring sight, to see these two good and great men, both exiles from their native land, talking together, with the earnestness and devotedness of a first love, upon philanthropic subjects, with a faith and a charity, that had strengthened under opposition and failure and the cruelty of their human brethren. I could see, that each time that my husband conversed with this interesting man, and found that the cruel sufferings of fourteen years, in the prison of the Spielberg, had not chilled his love for his fellow-man, he consecrated himself anew to the cause of justice and humanity, for which they both had suffered.

We returned in September to New York. Dr. Follen entered upon the duties and pleasures of his ministry with recruited strength and a new ardor; he had enjoyed highly the rest and peace he had found at Stockbridge; a rest, which was indeed with him only change of occupation, and a peace, which was the native atmosphere of his soul.

Dr. Follen was in the habit, at these periods of happy leisure, of writing down, as they occurred to him, his stray thoughts, from which I select only a few. They were written at different times.

"Religion is the desire after an infinite existence and efficiency; when we shall be clothed upon with

that angelic wisdom, which belongs to celestial childhood, our volumes of learning will appear to us what they are to our children now, playthings, or at least footstools to stand upon, and thus to add some cubits to our pigmy stature."

"There is such a thing as experience of immortality, even in this life. The mind, by constant exertion, is separated and weaned from the body."

"He alone is a great man, who can say before God, as to personal affairs, I am always inclined to sacrifice my own pretensions and feelings, to gratify those of others. But as to matters of vital importance in religion, morals, and politics, it is quite as easy to force or flatter me out of principles, as it is to cause Niagara river to roll its waves back from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie."

"When clouds of doubt obscure my belief in the existence of God, I think on the sun, who is present, and gives us daylight, though clouds prevent us from seeing him, without whom we could not see any thing."

"The secret misgivings, the keen upbraidings, the unutterable joys, the stern demands and inspiring impulses of conscience. —— He who slew Goliath could not stand before the ewe lamb in the parable."

"Within us the angel of divine forgiveness is ever stirring the water, inviting us to descend into the depths of our own being."

"'A new commandment I give you,' &c. The commandment is ever new, the duty is ever new, the love should be ever new."

"Knowledge and power, instead of being a substitute for justice, instead of exalting the oppressor, only deepen his guilt, and fill the measure of his sin. Vice is limited, virtue unlimited."

"Our whole existence is a state of perpetual probation and continual retribution; every moment is the reward of the past, and the preparation for the future."

"Men are afraid to see spirits, because they are so little acquainted with their own spiritual self. If this were not the case, who would not rejoice at being, even by his senses, confirmed in his belief in a world of spirits?"

"Cherish this growing discontent with all finite things, finite attainments, finite possessions and enjoyments."

"Let us learn to relish the sweetness with which the Gospel cherishes every latent beauty of the soul."

"Philanthropy is the first essential manifestation of religion, that is, the devotion to the improvement of the immortal soul."

"Every one is capable of working out his *conviction* of his immortality, but not his immortality."

"Christianity will prevail in spirit and in truth, when the Scriptures are not referred to as proofs of religious truth, but as the most important means of attaining to it. It is necessary first to build up Christianity, as it is derived from the Bible, in the minds of Christians, before we preach the resurrection of the spirit from the dead letter."

"That simplicity which walks by faith, which is

ever ready to believe what it has not seen, gives to the miracles the assurance of experience, and to the teachings of the heart their true heavenly import, by showing, that credulity is but the infancy of faith."

"The performance of the meanest service, when prompted by the self-sacrificing spirit of love, is full of immortality. —— However independent the head, the heart is never weaned."

"'Did not our hearts burn?' &c. Just so the living God is the sought-for object of thirst and desire. We desire one that will join us, and speak to us on the way, and explain what we thirst to understand."

"The belief of immortality depends on virtue."

"Between the historian, who exhibits that which has been, and is, and the philosopher, who exhibits that which ought to be, the poet takes his stand, striving to raise the actual condition to the eternal standard, by embodying the divine image in form borrowed from reality, and thus making it an object of wonder and love, devout aspiration, and earnest pursuit."

"How much better would it be for society, and for the true dignity and happiness of individuals, if each one with true humility would be contented to say with St. Paul, 'By the grace of God I am what I am.'"

"There is no moral effort so high as to be beyond the aim, though it be beyond the reach, of any human being."

"The world is governed by laws not all calculated for man, but man's nature is fitted for all changes and

chances. The essential wants of every man secured not by bread alone, but by every word. —— Why? The universe is the word of God, it is his book."

"Sickness seems to be meant to teach us the value of every thing which belongs to existence, nay, the delight vested in the consciousness of existence itself, when all else is converted into pain. The faith in the permanence of the naked spirit, our very self, exalts us above every experience of present evil."

"The Saviour was courageous enough to despise the appearance of cowardice. He was a solitary being. The officers who were charged to seize Jesus fell to the ground, but the children who came to him approached without fear."

"I thank God that I have been allowed to embark in this great ark of liberty, floating upon the deluge of slavery that covers the East and the West, and bearing within it the seeds of the regeneration of the human race."

When the time came for Dr. Follen to resume his labors, it did not seem as if it were task-work he was performing; he was like the strong man who was to run a race. He loved life for its uses, he loved his fellow-men better than the whole visible creation besides. To a cultivated friend, he himself said, "No kind of natural scenery is so imposing and inspiring, so full of moral and religious interest, as the society of my fellow-men;" and yet he had been a devout worshipper at the foot of Mont Blanc, and drank

into the depths of his soul the glories of Niagara. Action, noble action, he thought the secret of happiness. "The most perfect use of all our faculties, the greatest possible activity, and the feeling of the agreement of the state of our existence with our natural tendency," was his own definition of happiness.

It was a favorite purpose of Dr. Follen's to bring the religious society of which he had taken charge more together, and to induce that intimate and friendly feeling towards each other, which a personal acquaintance alone gives. For this purpose, he determined to make an effort to assemble them often together in a social way at our own house. We set apart every Wednesday evening to receive all visiters who were disposed to come. This plan we had just commenced in the spring, and as soon as we returned, he invited the whole society to visit him on Wednesday evenings. We made no preparation, except to light our rooms, and gave no entertainment, except a glass of water to those who desired it. It was understood that all should come in their usual dress; that those who were so disposed might wear their bonnets, and that from seven till eleven o'clock in the evening, all should come and go as they pleased.

These social parties were eminently successful; in fair weather our room was always full, and, even when it was stormy, there were some who did not fail to come. We had the pleasure of introducing to each other many who had found the divisions of the pews impassable barriers to a friendly acquaintance, and

who have since become true and warm friends. The rich in wordly goods, they who were gifted with the heavenly dowry of genius, the artisan and the artist, the flattered favorites of the world, and its poor forgotten pilgrims, the homebound conservative, the republican stranger, whose home was the world, and the exiled philanthropist, the child and his proud grandparent, the learned and the unlearned, the grave and the gay, all met at our house, and passed a few free and happy hours in an unrestrained and friendly intercourse, recognising the bond of brotherhood which exists between the members of God's human family. Few things ever gave Dr. Follen so true a pleasure as these meetings, not merely on account of his own actual enjoyment of them, but as they established the fact, that such social meetings were practicable, and that the vanity, and expense, and precious time, that are lavished upon show parties are not necessary, in order to obtain all the higher purposes of social intercourse; and as a proof that people have a purer and better taste than they have credit for. It was also a high gratification to his republican heart, to see that it was possible to do away some of those arbitrary distinctions in society, which prevent the highest progress and improvement of all. One of these Wednesday evenings a lady was present who belonged to a family, that, if such a term could be used without absurdity in this country, might be called patrician, but who had herself a patent of nobility from Him, who is the giver of all things. I said to her, "That gentleman, who has just sung the Scotch song so

well, is a hair-dresser; his wife, who, as well as himself, is from Scotland, and who has been talking very intelligently of Mr. Combe's lectures, which she attended in her own country, is a dress-maker. That highly intelligent woman, who has held a most interesting correspondence with my husband upon some theological questions, is a watch-maker's wife. That saintly old lady is the wife of a man who makes India rubber shoes, &c., and that very gentlemanly and agreeable man is a tailor." "I hope," she replied, "that the time will come when such things will not be mentioned as extraordinary." When I repeated this to my husband, after the company were gone, "That is beautiful," he said, with his face radiant with joy. He never forgot it, and when we last went to New York, he said, "We must go and see that truly republican lady." Dr. Follen often said, that our freedom was a fact, rather than a principle, and that nowhere was opinion so tyrannical, as in this boasted land of liberty. He resolved, in his ministry in New York, to be truly faithful to his own principles. He took his market-basket daily to market, and brought home our dinner himself. He practised the strictest economy, that he might have something to give to the poor. Mr. Arnold, and Mr. Channing, who had been the ministers to the poor, had both left the city. Provisions were dear, and the sufferings of the poor were severe; Dr. Follen volunteered his services, and devoted all his leisure to this difficult and painful, though interesting duty. His labors were very arduous; the poor Germans, when they knew he was their

countryman, besieged our door; and, during the inclement part of the season, it was seldom that we took any meal without some poor sufferer waiting till it was finished, that he might tell his sad story, and receive his portion of our frugal repast. Dr. Follen's labors among the poor would have been a sufficient employment without his duties in his parish, and preaching on Sunday, and he was often so exhausted, that I feared he would lose his health entirely; but he felt such a deep interest, such an inspiring joy, in these occupations, that he never complained of the weariness of his body. He always found time to write at least the first part of a sermon every week, the conclusion he extemporized, and the evening lecture was always entirely extempore. He gave, during this winter, a course of lectures on the Domestic and Social Relations; and another, by the particular request of some of the society, on the doctrines of Unitarianism.

It was in the autumn of this year, that Lovejoy was murdered, while defending his press from the attacks of the people of Alton, who had resolved, that no press should exist in their city, which was employed in vindication of the rights of the slave. Dr. Follen's whole soul was powerfully moved when he heard of this tragic story; but, cruelly painful as it was to all immediately connected with this magnanimous defender of human rights, yet he believed his blood would not be shed in vain. This, he said, was an event that should be commemorated, not by the Anti-slavery Society alone; the freedom of the press, the liberty

of every American citizen, was in question. He thought all good men would unite upon this occasion; he noticed it in his prayers the Sunday after he heard of it; he wished the Anti-slavery Society to appear only as a part of the community, jealous of their rights as men and as citizens, in the expression of their indignation at such a barbarous act. It was in vain he hoped and urged it; an effort was made by some of the noble-minded young men of the city, but they met with no sympathy from their elders.

The Anti-slavery Society resolved to notice publicly this disgraceful event, and at least to give their testimony to the character of this martyr to a great principle. They put Dr. Follen's name upon the committee of arrangements for the great meeting at the Tabernacle, but he took no part in it; it was not what he wished; he felt that it was narrowing the ground of its importance for any one society to take it up; he hoped that, throughout the whole country, there would go forth a general and indignant protest against such an outrage upon the rights of all. These were his feelings and purposes; yet, when he saw his name upon the list of the committee of arrangements for the commemoration of the death of Lovejoy by the Anti-slavery Society, he would not withdraw it, because he was aware of the prejudice and angry feeling that existed towards the Anti-slavery Society, and he feared that his motives might be questioned. One of his parish, who met him in the street, expressed his regret at seeing his name in the paper in connexion with Mr. Tappan & Co.; others told him, that it would

greatly injure his prospects in New York; and in various ways he was made to feel that there was no sympathy with his views and feelings among the majority of his people. This was comparatively of little moment to him; but, that every honorable man in the community did not rise up and give the weight of his name and character against such an infringement of one of the dearest rights of a citizen of a free country, — this did excite his deepest indignation. He speaks of the meeting at the Tabernacle in a letter to Harriet Martineau.

"*December* 11*th*, 1837.

"DEAR HARRIET,

"We had here in New York, at the Tabernacle, an anti-slavery celebration of the martyrdom of Lovejoy. There were nearly five thousand persons present. A disturbance was threatened, and attempted, by a small number, who counted upon the sympathy of the assembly. The noise of the few was rendered audible by the profound silence of the assembly, upon which the constables took courage, and arrested two, and this put an end to all disturbance. The exercises were dull, except the mere recital of the facts, and the concluding prayer. We should have gained more, perhaps, if the defence of the liberty of the press had been made the principal ground of the celebration, rather than the anti-slavery principle which he advocated; at least, so it appears to me. Still, one thing seems established, that no anti-slavery mob can be excited again in this city, notwithstanding the rage

of the merchants connected with the South. I was warned by some of the trustees of my church against giving my name to the meeting, and going to it, but I went with Eliza and S——, who would not be left at home.

"I read and write nothing; next to nothing; I compose my sermons in turning the corners of the streets, spinning street-yarns; still, I am learning while growing unlearned. You will think of us on New Year's night, and you will be in the midst of us. God bless you.

"Yours affectionately,
"C. FOLLEN."

"*New York, January 16th*, 1838.

"Some affairs allow me only time enough to join in Eliza's message of love to you, dearest Harriet. You will hear from us again very soon, and then you will know the result of the deliberation on which my situation in this city depends. We do not allow this uncertainty to disturb our tranquillity. A strong minority against me would be sufficient to determine me to decline the invitation; and we shall be glad to retire for six months, at least, to meditate on the bustling, restless life we have been leading; and then I shall have some leisure to write.

"We are laboring on, rejoicing in the little we have accomplished, and cherishing the holy fire of discontent with all finite attainments. In all our trials of suspense and disappointment, your love is to us a sure reliance, and your faithful, resolute spirit a present help.

"The refusal of Congress to receive petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia, adds strength to the anti-slavery cause, because it identifies it, in the eyes of the people, with the right of petition and freedom of discussion.

"We are looking forward with great interest to the manner in which the Canada affairs are viewed in England. The public opinion here is of course determined by existing interests; on the frontier, local sympathies and antipathies prevail. In the country, generally, men of principle approve of the insurrection, on the ground of the right of self-government, and opposition to foreign influence, supported by the aristocracy in the province. Others again are moved by the selfish and absurd principle of annexation to this country. This is favored by the far-sighted slaveholders, who are intent upon destroying that asylum for fugitive slaves, which, of course, would be the consequence of Canada's becoming part of the United States. For the same reason, Abolitionists are opposed to the movement in Canada, at least so far as countenanced by selfish politicians amongst us. But I must close.

"Yours affectionately,

"C. FOLLEN."

The opportunity which his residence in New York afforded Dr. Follen of observing the influence of party spirit, and the unjustifiable acts to which it gave rise, led him to think more than ever of its evils. He often spoke in the pulpit against such acts, and against the

injustice and disregard of the rights of all, which lay at the foundation of such wrongs. He constantly prayed that all cruel distinctions among children of a common Parent might cease; that every bond of iniquity might be broken, and that they who called themselves Christians, might recognise, in the most wretched and degraded human beings, brothers and sisters, created in the image of the common Father. He preached a sermon from the text, "I have come not to destroy, but to fulfil," showing that both the conservative and the reformer had a right principle in view; that the true follower of Jesus, while he held sacred all that was good in an existing establishment, was the most unsparing reformer of what was wrong.

"These words of Jesus," he said, "contained the elements of the two great antagonist principles which divide the world. They are at the bottom of all the agitation that is shaking society to its centre, both in this country, and in the empires of the old world.

"Who does not see, when he considers these words in connexion with all the doings of Jesus, who does not see the conservative principle, and the element of reform, united in the character and the mission of the Saviour of mankind? With regard to the essential doctrines and the moral commandments of the law, he speaks as a conservative; with regard to the ceremonial law, he appears as a reformer. Now, the true conservative, after the example of Jesus, sets out with the view to preserve whatever, in established opinions and institutions, is sound and salutary, and not, as his prejudiced antagonist may suppose, to

support the existing order of things from a superstitious belief, that whatever is is good. And, on the other hand, the reformer, who has the spirit of the chief of reformers, is not prompted by a restless desire, such as his prejudiced antagonist imputes to him, to make all things new, as if their newness alone was sufficient to establish their superiority over old things; but he proceeds on the supposition, that all that is human, whether it be of a speculative or practical character, is susceptible of improvement, and therefore needs reform.

"The prejudiced reformer forgets that the great object of change is stability. We strive after truth, that shall prove truth not only to-day and to-morrow, but at all times. Even with regard to those things which in their nature are subject to continual change, we seek after permanent principles, that control the change. By this means the mariner is able to traverse the unstable wave according to the certain directions of the compass and the chart. Thus the legislator strives to regulate the ever-changing relations between men by the law of the land, which he endeavours to render permanent, by making it the expression of the law of nature, and of the rights of man, which are the same every day and for ever. And there are in religion those who, not held in bonds by sectarian prejudice, are seeking after universal principles of faith, that shall be convincing and inspiring to all minds and hearts; and they would fain express and communicate these great principles in words as significant and plain as that universal lan-

guage in which 'the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handy work.'

"Thus, the great object of change and reform is not change and reform, but to find the most perfect, and therefore most permanent, form in law and in religion, in science and in art, in public and in domestic life. On the other hand, we see the prejudiced conservative defending the present state of things because it does exist, or because he believes that nothing would come to pass without the permission of Providence, and that, therefore, whatever is is right. He who reasons thus, forgets that this view of Providence would protect and justify the liar, the robber, the murderer, and every kind of error and crime, as well as truth, virtue, and piety.

"Not the unanimous consent of a whole nation, nay, of all nations and all ages, can justify a single individual in the commission or omission of a single act. If a whole nation, by the most solemn expression of their sovereign will, should sanction robbery or oppression, it would not make robbery or oppression right, but it would make the whole nation a band of robbers and oppressors.

"With this view of the main question at issue between the conservative and the reformer, it seems to me a decided mark of a superficial mind to take side either for or against an opinion or measure, and to vote with one or the other party in politics or religion, merely as having a radical or a conservative character and tendency. With a man of sense, the first and only question must be, whether the point in dispute,

be it an article of faith, or a social institution, is worth preserving, or susceptible of improvement.

"He examines the merits of every case, and, according to the result of his investigation, he is either an unyielding conservative, or a radical reformer."

In describing the true Christian reformer, Dr. Follen unconsciously portrayed himself. Progress and improvement were, indeed, the law of his nature; but all that actually existed, especially when hallowed by time and sentiment, was sacred to him, unless there was a higher motive for destroying, than for retaining it. This tenderness, that he felt for what was holy in the view of another mind, he has thus expressed;

"The spirit of true religion is often embodied in prejudice, and says to the presumptuous reformer, who approaches with an unsparing hand, 'Touch me not, for I am not yet risen' to that state of light in which I can exist without this perishable body."

While Dr. Follen had unlimited faith in human strength, he never forgot human weakness. He made no vain boasts of his own strength. In speaking of the trials which those must endure, who sacrifice their interests in their fidelity to an unpopular cause, he says, in a sermon, "I suppose no individual, ever so independent, can pass through such a change of circumstances, without being sensibly affected, without being sorely tempted to prove unfaithful to himself, and to judge of the moral worth of his motive by their outward consequences."

During this winter, Dr. Follen received a ver

interesting visit from M. Darusmond, the husband of Miss Fanny Wright. This gentleman was his fellow-passenger in the *Cadmus*, under the name of Phiquepal. Dr. Follen was at that time much impressed with his philanthropy, and with his admirable views upon the subject of education, and his signal success in the actual management of some boys under his care. When M. Darusmond came to New York, hearing that Dr. Follen was in the city, he passed a long evening with him, striving to engage his interest and aid in a plan he had much at heart, for establishing a community, upon the principle of an exact justice, where each one should have an equal opportunity for efficient action, such as was best suited to his nature, and should receive an adequate compensation for his labor, and where the surplus wealth should be employed for the mutual benefit of all; so that the best education, and the highest civilization should be secured for each and all. Such a project could not fail to interest a mind like Dr. Follen's. But he thought such a state of things must be the result of a genuine philanthropy, of an enlarged Christian policy, and that, if it depended upon arbitrary laws, or involved the infringement of the rights of any one, the evil would be greater than the good. He thought such a state of things would require the revival of that spirit which was in the disciples, when "All that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need." For such a state he ever

prayed, and in its practicability he loved to believe. But one foundation of this faith was wanting in M. Darusmond. Religion was to have no part in his community; for, said he, "Wherever religion has had any power, there have been persecution and cruelty." Dr. Follen acknowledged this fact, but labored to convince him that it was not true, but false religion, and its ambitious, selfish ministers, and ignorant bigots, that had persecuted; but he could not succeed in his purpose. Here was the radical difference between the two philanthropists. Darusmond believed in the immortality of the race, the other, in that of each and every individual. One would tolerate every thing that was honest except religion in his community, the other would assign no limits but those of justice to his toleration. One urged, that wherever religion had existed, the rights of man had been set aside; the other, that true religion is the law of mutual rights, as well as the bond of perfectness. M. Darusmond tried to convince Dr. Follen, that they did not disagree except in words, and that it was impossible he could believe in any Deity separate from nature, or in any other state of existence than the present, for any individual. I was present at the conversation, and saw the flush that suffused Dr. Follen's face, as he heard this; and I heard his fervent declaration of his faith in immortality. The benevolent old man left us in a depressed state of mind, very different from the eager enthusiasm with which he had commenced the conversation. He had with him a most beautiful little girl of about eight years of age. "There," said

Dr. Follen, as he left us, "is that noble old man spending his thoughts, his time, and his money, for what he considers the highest good of his fellow-men, with a youthful devotedness and enthusiasm of benevolence, carrying in his heart the evidences of his immortality, and yet tenacious of the belief, that he and his beautiful child, and all that he loves best in the world, and all his generous and exalted purposes and hopes, are but a part of the dust he treads on. What a lesson does his magnanimous love for his fellow-beings teach to the multitudes of cold, calculating men and women we see, who take the name of him who was the first and greatest of all philanthropists, and who call him an infidel, and are eager to condemn him."

Dr. Follen delivered a lecture this winter before the Brooklyn Lyceum, upon Republicanism, and the Duties of American Citizens. In this he spoke again very strongly upon slavery, pointing out the inconsistency and want of principle in republicans holding slaves; he heard of no objections to his discourse.

When he decided to remain with the society for another year, he resolved to turn his mind as much as possible from himself and his own interests, and to think simply how he could benefit the society during the time he was their pastor. The church had been always full; but a circumstance occurred, which sensibly diminished the number of his hearers. From the time that the hour of service had been changed, it had been the custom to advertise the subject of the evening lecture; this had brought many strangers to

the church. But after a while the trustees resolved that this was an unnecessary expense, and the advertisements were discontinued. The strangers, who were in the habit of seeing a notice of the lectures in Chambers Street in the paper, concluded that they were discontinued, and of course they stayed away. But this did not trouble Dr. Follen much; his attachment to the city had increased, his enjoyment of so wide a sphere of activity, his growing interest in the poor, and his love of the occupations of a religious teacher, strengthened by his increased facility in the use of our language, and a real consciousness of greater power and experience, added to his hopeful temperament, made him sanguine, as well as desirous, that, in some way or other, he should be established in New York. He would often say, "I see so much to be done here, and I feel as if I was doing something; I think it is my place. It is a noble city, full of fine materials; there are, to be sure, great evils here, but the greater the call for the exertions of the Christian minister." He thought it right, however, to desire the trustees would make known their purposes with regard to him, in season for him to make other arrangements at the expiration of his engagement, in case his further services were not desired. In the latter part of January some of the trustees waited upon him, for the purpose of making him a proposal for the ensuing year.

When he returned from a conference with these gentlemen, I saw that his face, usually so calm, was flushed, and looked disturbed, and there was a deep

depression in his manner. As soon as we were alone, he said, "I am sure no insult was intended to me; but a proposition has been made to me, which, if I were to accept it, would degrade me in my own eyes, and in the opinion of all who know me. They wish me to retain my place here, but to supply the desk only a part of the time myself, and to invite other candidates to preach as often as I can, that they may be able to ascertain whom they should prefer to me. They have a right to their choice, and I well know that the gentleman who brought the proposal from the whole committee meant me no wrong; but the situation in which it would place me, and whomever I put into the desk, would be as awkward and unpleasant, as it would be undignified. I shall, of course, refuse, and, as soon as is proper, resign my place here." Dr. Follen would not reply to this proposal till his serenity was perfectly restored, and the painful feeling it had excited had passed away; he then sent the following letter to Mr. Ainslie, the president of the board of trustees.

"TO ROBERT AINSLIE, ESQ.

"*New York, Jan. 25th*, 1838.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have taken into full consideration the proposal of the standing committee, which yourself and Mr. B. F. Wheelwright communicated to me on Friday last. The committee propose to reëngage my services for one year from the first of next May, with the understanding, that during that time other clergy-

men should be occasionally invited to supply the pulpit, in order to gratify those members of the society, who desire a more ample opportunity of comparing different preachers before they proceed to a permanent settlement. After consulting with a number of my friends, I have come to the conclusion, respectfully to decline this proposal. However far my attainments may have fallen below my earnest desires, I cannot promise to do more or better than I have hitherto endeavoured to do in my ministry; and for this reason I cannot but think that another experiment, as far as I am concerned, would not be profitable either to myself or to the society.

"Your friend and servant,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

Some of the society, who were anxious that Dr. Follen should remain with them as their pastor, when they heard of this proposal from the trustees, and that of course it had been rejected, made an effort to ascertain the wishes of the whole society with regard to his settlement. A parish meeting was, by their exertions, called in February, to act upon the question, whether Dr. Follen should be invited to be their pastor permanently. He was informed, that those who were opposed to him showed at this meeting such a determination and warmth of feeling against him, as he was not before aware of. Some, who worshipped at the other Unitarian church, but who owned pews in this, came to vote against him; there was an effort made to silence one of his friends, who

wished to state the fact, that he had a long list of names of men, who wished to take pews if Dr. Follen were settled; and, without any question being taken, the meeting was adjourned to the 4th of March. As soon as Dr. Follen heard these facts, he decided, without any hesitation, to refuse being considered a candidate for the office of pastor of their church; and he wrote the following letter to the president of the board of trustees.

"TO ROBERT AINSLIE, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR,

"Will you be so kind as to lay before the adjourned meeting of our society, on Sunday, the 4th instant, the following communication, previous to any vote being taken in relation to the object of the meeting.

"I have learned that a number of persons belonging to this congregation, think it expedient that they should have an opportunity of hearing several preachers before the society proceed to the choice of a pastor. This desire on their part seems to me very reasonable. It is, therefore, my decided wish, so far as I am concerned, that the society would postpone the choice of a pastor until this opportunity has been afforded to all who may desire it.

"Your friend and servant,

"CHARLES FOLLEN.

"*New York, March 1st*, 1838."

Thus terminated Dr. Follen's connexion with the

New York church. It would be vain and false, to pretend that this was not a great disappointment to him. Whenever he had allowed himself to think of his own affairs, he had trusted, that the opposition of a few would give way to what he fondly hoped was the wish of the great majority of the society. Some one had told him, that the gentleman from Mr. Dewey's society, who had left the church when he spoke of slavery, had said, at a public meeting, that the Chambers-Street church would never prosper while it retained its present pastor; this led him to think, that his anti-slavery opinions, or rather his expression of them, might be the cause of his failure. This was a consolation to him; — from his earliest youth he had dedicated himself to the cause of freedom, cheerfully and solemnly, and now he stood ready to struggle, and, if need were, again to suffer for her sake. But he began to feel, that the tyranny of opinion in a republic was not much less galling and oppressive than the arbitrary laws of monarchical Europe.

This lamentable inconsistency of republicans did not destroy his faith in their free institutions, and in the principles which they were so unfaithful to. He thought this country the most hopeful place for mankind; and whenever I asked him, if, when we went to Switzerland, he should remain there if he found employment, he always answered, "No, I wish my son to be an American, and to be educated as such. I yet hope America will be worthy of the name of a republic. She is the great hope of the world."

As soon as it was decided that we were to leave New York, Dr. Follen wrote to Dr. Channing and other friends, to ask them to engage the supply of some pulpit, if possible, in the neighbourhood of Boston; and from that moment we began to turn our thoughts to the pleasures and advantages of a residence in New England, and to the great joy of returning to our own family and dear old friends. "Now," he said, "I shall preach in New York better than ever. I shall, if possible, speak my mind even plainer than I ever have before. I shall do my best for them before I leave them." The sermons that he preached at this time were very eloquent, but very few of them were entirely written; he preferred to extemporize, and he did so with an increasing facility and effect.

The notes for one sermon that he preached at this period will have an interest, as he was undoubtedly led to the subject of it by his own personal feelings.

"What is the object of evil in the world? To make us more perfect, more worthy of happiness, and in the end more happy; therefore let us take our cross for the glory that is set before us. No relish of good without the experience of evil.

"Enlargement of the question. Why is man born to suffering? why has he to go through so many hardships and dangers until he grow up to be a man, and then to toil on to his end, to be liable to temptation and sin, to sickness, and at last to death? Every trade and profession has to be acquired through toil and pain. The man who does not experience pain

from other sources, from taking an active part in life, suffers from *ennui*. Why are so many oppressed? Why has freedom to be bought with blood? Why the evil of war? Why all sorts of sin?

"I do not now inquire into the sources of particular evil, but of evil itself and in general. If I ask, Why is this man in pain? you may answer, He is ill with fever. And whence the fever? From too hard labor, or from intemperance. But why are there such evils as the necessity of too hard toil, or intemperance, or any other evil or sin in the world? How can we reconcile it with the goodness of God? Why were Jesus and his apostles, the martyrs of Christianity, left to suffer? They were inspired, they were enabled to perform miracles, but to save themselves from suffering was none of their miraculous gifts bestowed.

"With regard to those who deserve punishment, the evil, if it does not exceed its object, is easily accounted for; but how is it that those men, who spend their lives in ministering to the wants and the distresses of others, are not themselves saved from sickness and misery? 'Count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations.' 'Who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross.' 'They who sow in tears shall reap in joy.' Why, if suffering was made a part of our lot, why was reason given us, a thousandfold to increase our sufferings by endeavouring to find their cause and object?

"We are perfected by suffering. When Huss was led to the flames, which were to destroy his mor-

tal body by a slow and cruel death, he saw an ignorant old woman, whom he had been kind to, eagerly picking up sticks to throw upon the fire that was to consume him. 'O holy simplicity!' he exclaimed. He was made perfect by suffering. Many evils we cannot account for; but, for many, and for the greatest of evils, sin, we can account; and is it not rational to suppose that the others too can be accounted for? No necessity of sin, though temptation is necessary to our moral perfection.

"Suffering brings out great virtues; trial of faith, trust, sympathy, patience, courage."

Between this time and his leaving New York, in May, he delivered a course of lectures on the Dramatic Works of Schiller. He had a very respectable audience, and the pleasure they expressed in the subject was very gratifying. The enthusiasm which was manifested by his hearers for the plays of Schiller, which he read to them, was a true enjoyment to him. He read with an uncommon beauty and effect. Some good judges of reading were among his hearers, and expressed very great pleasure at hearing him; and urged him to give a similar course on Shakspeare. Of all poets Schiller was his favorite. He could never read "William Tell" without being almost overcome by his emotions.

The winter soon passed, and the time came to say farewell to our many dear friends. At our last Wednesday evening meeting, the company, which was large, joined in singing "Auld Lang Syne" before we parted. There were many sad hearts and

many tearful eyes in that assembly. After they were all gone, "I could not have commanded myself much longer," said my husband. "These evenings have been so pleasant. We have not failed in this, at least. Now they will be scattered again, but it is yet something to have brought them together." He sighed heavily; his heart was oppressed.

Our excellent friend, Chancellor M'Coun, and his family, whom we loved too much to talk of gratitude for their numberless favors, invited us to their house, till our furniture was packed and stored, for we had no house of our own to go to while this was doing. We now had to find ourselves a new home. As it was most likely we should remove to some distance, every article of furniture was to be carefully boxed.

Again our precious books were to be buried from our sight, to be restored to light we knew not when nor where. Without a word of complaint, Dr. Follen again performed this painful task. There was the same serene cheerfulness, the same benignant expression, the same meek submission, the same unruffled peace in his countenance and manner, when he nailed up his books and papers, to be consigned to a place of safety, till he again had a roof to shelter him, as there had been when, full of hope and confidence, he arranged them on his shelves a year before, trusting that they would long remain there. The spirit of fear and of complaint could not stand before his self-forgetting Christian faith and hope.

I think no one who heard him, will ever forget the last sermon he preached to his people. It was ex-

tempore. Indeed, he had no time to write, for the poor, whom he had visited, when they heard he was going, all came to see if it could be, that he was going to leave the city. "Why, he is the best man that ever lived; it cannot be that the people will let him go;" said one poor woman to me. It was with difficulty he could find time even to pack his furniture. It was accident that gave him the subject of his last sermon. We were talking together of the real opposition in the minds of most people to the teachings and character of Jesus. I said, "If he were to come on earth now, and speak as openly and boldly as he did to the Jews, he would be crucified anew." "Yes," he replied, "they do not know him; and that shall be my text for my farewell sermon. I cannot touch upon any subject of a personal nature, or I shall lose my self-command. My text shall be, 'Have I been so long with you, and have ye not known me?'"

His purpose was to show, that men were as ignorant of the true spirit of Christianity as many of the hearers and even friends of Jesus were of his nature and purposes; and that the spirit which persecuted and crucified Jesus was still alive. There were some there, who felt that the text had a personal application, of which, however, he was all unconscious; they felt that there were some there who did not know him who addressed them, any more than Philip had known his master. He made no notes at all for this sermon; he opened the Bible and read his text, and spoke on from the fulness of his heart. He spoke

plainly, like one who was addressing them the last time; he spoke boldly, as a man having nothing to hope or to fear. He spoke affectionately, as a brother would speak to brethren whom his heart yearned to bless, and whom he was to leave for ever. After service he remained in the desk purposely, to avoid meeting any one, for his heart was too full to speak any more. When he came down to meet me, thinking all others were gone, a man and his wife came forward, who had been waiting for him. The man took his hand, and said, "You have, Sir, during your ministry here, changed an unhappy atheist to a happy, believing Christian. I am grieved to think that I shall worship no more with you in this church, but you have given me the hope that I may yet worship with you in a higher, a heavenly temple." Tears ran fast down his and his wife's cheeks as he uttered these words, and pressed Dr. Follen's hand and departed. "That," said my husband, "is reward enough for all my toils and disappointments."

CHAPTER XX.

He returns to Boston. — Takes Lodgings in Milton. — Psychology. — Letter to Harriet Martineau. — Preaches at Canton. — Charge at the Ordination of Mr. Simmons. — His Idea of a Church. — Takes Lodgings in Boston. — Takes Charge of Mr. Cunningham's Parish. — Lectures on Pantheism. — Letter to Harriet Martineau. — Dr. Follen determines to visit Switzerland. — A Dream.

After a sorrowful farewell to our friends, but most especially to those who had made their house a true home to us, early in May, 1838, we left New York, and soon found ourselves in the midst of dear old familiar friends. There was nowhere any opening for Dr. Follen to preach, and he accordingly took lodgings at a pleasant place in Milton, eight miles from Boston, determining to devote his whole time to his "Psychology." The expense of moving our furniture to New York, and of moving while there, of packing his furniture so that it might be carried any distance with safety, and the high price of provisions and rent, had made the expense of living in New York so heavy, that the salary of two thousand dollars, which was paid Dr. Follen, did not support us, and he had to spend from his own small property during his ministry in the Chambers-Street church. In the

eyes of the world he had, doubtless, lost some of his importance; he was poor, unsought for, rejected of men. But there is another side to this picture, and not only in the eyes of Him who seeth not as man seeth; but among his fellow-men there were many hearts that he had comforted and strengthened, many souls that he had quickened and elevated, ready to speak of the success and of the true glory of his ministry.

As there was a report current, that Dr. Follen continually introduced Abolition into the pulpit, I think it right to state the fact, that he never but once introduced it directly into a discourse; simply because he never saw any good reason for speaking oftener of it. In his prayers he ever remembered his brethren in bondage. Negro slavery, though by far the most cruel in its effects, he considered as only one phase of that general disregard of human rights, of which he had seen and experienced so much in the world, and against which he had contended through his whole life. It was not merely the pity he felt for the poor colored man, that led him to join the Anti-slavery Society, it was respect for the rights of man as man; it was faith in the great truth of the essential equality of immortal spirits; it was the recognition of the divine brotherhood of the whole family of man; it was simply the religion of Jesus, as he understood it, that had guided and influenced him. All his sermons and all his prayers, all the various acts of his life, were but various modifications and displays of this faith, or earnest exhortations to the duties growing out of it. He could not be a partisan, for he was always on the

side of justice; he was a republican, and therefore he felt a deep indignation at the suicidal wickedness and absurdity of republican tyranny.

The peaceful retirement which Dr. Follen enjoyed at Milton was balm to his wearied and exhausted spirits. The surrounding country was beautiful, and our accommodations were excellent. Our hostess was the widow of an excellent orthodox clergyman, who, with her family, ministered to us with that watchful kindness, which is the recognition of the great bond of fellowship, that should bind together all those who are the disciples of the same master. She often called upon Dr. Follen to lead her family devotions; and it must be a source of melancholy joy to her to remember the truly Christian communion in which we dwelt together at her house.

It was a great joy to Dr. Follen, to be able to give his undivided attention to his "Psychology." From his earliest youth it had been the subject of his deepest thought and faithful study, and he hoped that he had come to some results that might be useful to other minds. He would often say, "I trust that I shall live to finish my 'Psychology'; I should like to do something for the science of the soul." One day, during this summer, we had a terrible thunder-storm; when it was over, he said, "You may think it strange, but I never hear a severe clap of thunder without remembering with pain that my 'Psychology' is not written, and of the possibility of my not living to finish it." Upon his last birthday he said, with a sigh, "Another birthday, and my Elements of Psy-

chology not finished." He soon completed and copied his Introduction to it; upon which he bestowed great pains. "There," he said, "that is ready for the press; I shall not alter a word of it." Then he added, "Now I shall go on with the work in good earnest." This Introduction, which is all that Dr. Follen completed of his work on the science of the soul, may be found in the volume of his works, which contains his Lectures on Moral Philosophy. The very large collection he made of materials for the "Psychology," are in such a state, that none but the mind which prepared them could properly arrange them. He thought that it would not take him a long time to finish the work.

Dr. Follen's present occupation was indeed his true element. Life seemed beautiful to him when he had this work in hand. Early in the morning you would hear him singing the songs of his native land, while he was preparing to write. After breakfast, he would call Charles and me to take a stroll in a pretty lane close by us, and we would bring home flowers for his study and my work-table. Then he would return to his happy task, and from ten o'clock till late in the afternoon he devoted himself to intense intellectual labor, occasionally walking for a few minutes in the open air, or sporting a while with his boy, when his head was wearied with thought. After this time he gave himself up to his family; but he often would say, while walking with us, "I am still at work on my science of the soul." He loved to lie down on the beds of sweet fern, and, looking far up into the blue sky, talk of distant friends, of Switzerland, and

often of our eternal home beyond these visible heavens. How often he would exclaim, "This is indeed more beautiful than walking in New York streets."

A few lines that he wrote to Harriet Martineau, will show that he did not forget the Anti-slavery cause. I had said, in a letter to her, that I should leave the little remainder of my page to my husband, if he could descend from his high horse, which he knew not whether to call reason or understanding.

"*Milton, July* 31*st*, 1838.

"DEAREST HARRIET,

"For these two words I have, at any rate, both space and time. Eliza did not tell you, that she is determined to send off this letter with, or without, my adding any thing, as soon as young M——, who has offered to forward it to New York, returns on horseback to call for it. So much for my descent from my high horse! I have to write with the anticipated sounds of the horse's hoofs in my ears. 'Facts and plans!' We Abolitionists have changed our political course. We are satisfied, that Abolition in the District of Columbia, and prohibition of the internal trade, are more important than all other political controversies of the day. So each is ready to wave his democratic or whig propensities in favor of the candidate who will vote for these two measures. This course, considering the nearly equal strength of the two parties, will give us a practical influence for freedom, which no attempt at forming a new party of our own would procure us.

"Think of the disgrace of the democratic members in the last Congress, before the adjournment, agreeing upon a declaration of sentiments, in which anti-slavery is denounced for the purpose of conciliating the South.

"Here is young M—— for the letter. God bless you, dearest Harriet.

"Yours affectionately,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

Dr. Follen had received, in June, an urgent request from some young men in Harvard University, to deliver an address to them on slavery, on the 4th of July; which he declined, thinking it would not be delicate or right in him, as he had once been an officer in the College, and knew the opposition of the influential men in it to the Anti-slavery cause, to take an active part in the formation of an Anti-slavery Society there. But his heart rejoiced at its establishment, and most sincerely bade them "God speed."

The thought of his narrow means, and the absence of any definite hope for the future, sometimes disturbed these otherwise peaceful, blessed hours; and this retarded somewhat the progress of his work. He had also promised to the editor of "The Democratic Review" an article on the peace question, which took up much of his time. He entered very fully into the subject. Only a part of what he wrote was inserted, and that with some alterations, which he did not assent to.

Another subject took up a portion of his time. In

consequence of some remarks in "The Christian Examiner," upon the Abolitionists, he felt bound to say something in their vindication. He therefore requested the editors to allow him space for some remarks which he wished to make. I give his letter.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

"*Milton, August 7th*, 1838.

"GENTLEMEN,

"The last number of the 'Christian Examiner' (July, 1838), contains two articles, the 'Review of Dr. Wayland's Limitations of Responsibility,' and that of 'Miss Martineau's Retrospect of Western Travel,' in which several grave charges and censures are brought forward against the Abolitionists in this country. The substance of these condemnatory remarks is repeated in the index of the same number. In these two articles, the 'end' of the Abolitionists is pronounced 'unlawful,' and one for which 'they have no right to organize societies.' They are accused of being 'wrong and unwise in their measures,' of having 'discussed the subject of slavery in a manner decidedly at variance with constitutional liberty of speech and the press.' 'The soundness of their moral discernment' is 'questioned'; appeals to their reason are set down as useless, because 'it is of the very stuff of fanaticism to look only at the principle of actions, and give the consequences to the winds.' One of the principal statements on which Abolitionists rely, to secure them both against legal enactments and the violence of mobs, is declared to be

'not a fair and honest statement.' It is obvious, that so long as there appears no representation of the other side of this great question, which now agitates and divides public opinion, 'The Christian Examiner' must be considered as having taken part against the Abolitionists. As I am not aware that this periodical is actually pledged upon this question, and as I conscientiously believe that the forementioned charges and censures are unfounded and unjust, I think it my duty, as far as I can, to counteract the false impressions which those two articles are fitted to produce.

"As my name still appears in the printed list of the principal contributors to the 'Examiner,' although professional labors have for some time prevented my offering any thing for publication, it seems to me the part of propriety as well as duty to myself, and what I hold to be the cause of truth, to propose to the Editors, an article in vindication of the Abolitionists from the charges and censures contained in the last number of the 'Christian Examiner.' Will you be so kind as to inform me, whether you will receive from me such an article, on condition that it shall be in character and spirit such as to approve itself to the judgment of the Editors of the 'Christian Examiner.' In case you see fit to accept this proposal, will you have the kindness to let me know how much time you can allow me for finishing the article, with a view to its being inserted in the next number.

"An early answer will greatly oblige

"Your friend and servant,

"CHARLES FOLLEN."

Dr. Follen received a very courteous permission to send such an article as he proposed, to the "Examiner," on condition that it should not be a "*pointed* answer to any thing *they* had published against Abolitionism," as it was one of their rules not to admit such articles, because they led to long and disagreeable controversies. The vindication of the Abolitionists, and the article on the Peace Question, may be found in the present collection of his works.

One day this summer, when he was in Boston, some one offered him the petition, addressed to the Governor, for the pardon of Mr. Abner Kneeland, who had been found guilty of the crime of blasphemy. He gladly put his name to it, not because he saw the names of those he most honored attached to it, but because he entirely disapproved of all laws upon such subjects, and thought satisfactory reasons were given in the petition, why Mr. Kneeland should be saved from their penalties. When he heard others condemned for putting their names to it, he used to say, very quietly, "I am glad I put mine there."

Dr. Follen was called upon, during the latter part of his residence in Milton, to perform a service for a friend, which, both in itself, and in the manner in which he performed it, illustrates his character.

He was in the city, and was met in the street by Mr. George F. Simmons, who told him he had been anxiously seeking him, to ask a favor of him. He was very desirous to get him to deliver the charge at his ordination, which was to take place the next day. Dr. Follen said he could not; that he could not re-

turn to Milton till night, when he should be too much fatigued to make any preparation; that there would be no time the next day; that he had never done any thing of the sort, and could not undertake such an office for the first time, so entirely unprepared. Mr. Simmons urged him warmly, and said that there was no one whom he so much desired to take this part in his ordination, and that he should not know what to do if he refused. Dr. Follen at last consented, because he could never refuse to do a kind thing. As he knew would be the case, he found no time to make any adequate preparation. On a scrap of rumpled paper, after he arrived next morning in the city, he made a few notes. I give them just as I have found them.

"1st. Place before yourself clearly the object of the Christian ministry, and the means by which it is to be accomplished.

"2d. Act according to this conception of your duty.

"*Object.* To aid your fellow-men in the formation of their religious character, — not to form it; not to lessen their exertions and responsibility, but increase them by your aid.

"*Means*, 1st. Study. Theological education never finishes. Theology a science in which no one graduates in this world. Every thing may be made a teacher. (*a*) Nature, more especially human nature, — a temple; try to decipher its inscriptions by the key of Scripture.

"(*b*) Scripture. Jesus.

"2d. Public services. (*a*) Prayer. Natural effusion not merely appropriate. Not a string of quotations of Scripture phrases. Pray yourself. A good prayer is that which makes others pray. (*b*) Preaching. Speak the truth as it is in your heart. Confession of doubt; independence of thought and expression. (*c*) Be guided by the consideration of what is most important to your hearers, for the formation of their religious character, — not by their likes or dislikes. Prejudices. Ministerial prudence. It may cost you your standing, your office. (*d*) Adapt your expressions to the capacities and wants of all; young and old, sick and well, righteous and sinners, believers and skeptics. (*e*) Ordinances. Private intercourse. As man among his fellow-men. All are men; have the rights and feelings of men. Try to gain their confidence, by confiding in them. Take, as a new charge for yourself, humility, truth, courage! Put your heart into your services; you must feel, you must believe, yourself. Be a learner yourself; not attained to all truth. Not rash, but a calm, deliberate preference of truth and right, to the opinion of the world and your own advantage.

"Not a tame and time-serving ministry. Not be terrified by the authority of any man. Stir up the gift of God which is in thee. Meditate upon these things; give thyself wholly to them."

Some of his hearers were enthusiastic in their praise of his performance. It was the first and only

Charge he ever delivered. Had he continued in this sphere of his labors, I doubt not that his heart would have rejoiced in the conviction, that the words he then spoke did not fall on stony ground.*

During the first part of this summer, he had cherished some hope, that a plan formed in New York by a few friends, might be carried into effect. This was the establishment of a free church there. The same man who had expressed his desire to pay from his own purse for a course of lectures from Dr. Follen to his skeptical brethren, and who had afterwards come to his church, had declared his readiness to contribute largely to a free Christian church, if he were the minister. There were others who expressed a deep interest in it, and there was a time when there seemed a great probability that such a project would be carried into effect. To be the pastor of a free church in the city of New York would have been to Dr. Follen one of the most desirable offices in the world, because he could there have carried out some of his dearest principles and plans. He wished to see a church established upon what he considered the true Christian principle, where the preacher did not address men as the proprietors of pews, but as the possessors of immortal souls; he wished to minister to a church, the doors of which should be open to all whose creed was universal love and toleration.

* Mr. Simmons acted upon the principles enforced in this charge, as the subject of slavery, when he was in Mobile; and on this account was obliged to quit his situation there.

The principles upon which this church should be established, he had partly unfolded in his Tract on "Religion and the Church." In relation to the details, the actual execution of his plan, he often spoke to me, but never put his ideas on paper. His great object was to produce a more truly social worship; he wished that the congregation should take an active part in the services, particularly in the devotional parts. He thought well of religious conferences; he wished to see a closer union between members of the same church, to bring the minister more among the people. He wished to do away with the high pulpit, to have the building so constructed, as that whoever desired to speak, could easily find a place to stand, where he could be heard by the whole audience. He wished to imitate the Society of Friends in putting women upon an equality with men, and that each one should be encouraged to speak according to his or her gift, without any distinction. He wished the music to be a truly devotional act, performed by the whole society, excepting only those individuals who had no musical powers. Painting, and sculpture, and architecture, he thought ought to be employed as helps and expressions of devotional feeling. He thought a learned minister, one devoted altogether to the study of theology, important, because all had not the time and opportunity to examine difficult questions for themselves, and a leader was necessary; but he should be ever ready to yield to any one who could instruct the people better than he; he should meet all those who made objections, or wished

to ask questions, with respect and courtesy, and treat all arguments fairly, remembering that he also was a learner.

He thought it would be better that all the expenses of the society should be paid by voluntary subscription; that every one should be free to remain with the society just as long as he pleased; that there should be no bond, but that of a unity of spirit and Christian love; that every one should be welcome to their church, who heartily desired to join them; that the conscientious skeptic, who came to inquire of their doctrine, and to state his difficulties, should be treated by them as a brother, and that instead of turning away from him, they should reason with him of righteousness, temperance, and the judgment to come. Such a church, free and unlimited as the love of Jesus, his soul longed to establish; it was a purpose he never relinquished. His desire for it amounted almost to a passion; he would gladly have lived upon the smallest possible means, for the sake of ministering to it. Before the autumn came, he was convinced that nothing of the kind would be attempted in New York, and he turned his attention to other plans for the future. One was the establishment of such a church in Boston. Some few friends thought well of it, and desired it, but here, as in all his other purposes, he felt his poverty; his daily bread was to be earned. He had, it is true, opportunities of preaching; yet he could only earn enough barely to support himself and family. This distressed him. He would often say, "Now in the

prime of my life, and with the power and will to labor, I ought to earn something more than my daily bread." But his nature was so hopeful, his mode of life was so agreeable, his interest in his "Psychology" was so intense, his occasional preaching was so great a pleasure to him, and then the frequent intercourse with dear old friends;—all these things made the summer a long holiday to us. Late in the autumn we removed to Boston, where we took lodgings. Dr. Follen had taken the charge of the Rev. Mr. Cunningham's pulpit for the winter, as he was to be away from the country during that time. Dr. Follen's purpose was to obtain, in Boston, pupils in German. Some of his friends had told him that this would be very easy, that he would have as many pupils as he wished; and he was in hopes by this means to earn a subsistence for his family. Herein he was disappointed. Only one small class offered, and two or three separate pupils besides, so that his time would have been more profitably employed in writing.

He mentioned his plan of a new free church in Boston to many of his friends there; he unfolded his whole purpose and wish to them, and he did most earnestly hope, that he might meet with sufficient encouragement to commence the undertaking. But the time was not a propitious one; some friends sympathized warmly with his views, but did not see how to help him; others thought it desirable there should be such a church; some stood ready to help when it was actually established; others feared it would not succeed. His poverty made him powerless, and the

time passed without a single effort being made for this great, and, as he thought it, most desirable object.

Of his numerous disappointments, Dr. Follen perhaps felt none more keenly than this. There were moments this winter when his heart was truly oppressed; but the same faith and courage that had hitherto supported him, came now to his aid. He turned directly to some present duty, or he talked with his friends of the future, which he still trusted had some unlooked-for good in store for him. His near friends were in the habit of rallying him upon his sanguine anticipations, and this, even after their failure might have produced some sensitiveness upon the subject; but how sweetly did he join in the laugh at his own confiding credulity, that led him to measure the good he expected from others, not by the history of his own experience, but by the overflowing bounty of his own heart. One instance of this I cannot resist relating. One New Year's day I observed him in the morning, putting away some books that he usually kept on his study table, and apparently making room for something. I asked him what he was preparing for. "I am making room on my table for our New Year's presents," he replied. I smiled. "I see," he said, "that you do not expect any, but I do." I was right; we had not a single New Year's gift; but his unfeigned merriment at his ungrounded hopes, and the many hearty laughs, which the remembrance of his mistake, when like disappointments in more important affairs befel us, proved that he possessed that, which made such things of little importance.

No one thought less of the intrinsic value, or rather of the market price, of a gift from a friend, than he; and no one that I ever knew thought more of the active love that prompted such testimonials of affection; he was truly child-like in these things.

We practised, necessarily, this winter, the strictest economy. Through mud, and cold, and storms, Dr. Follen walked out seven miles to the church where he was engaged to preach. Far from uttering a complaint at the cold, or fatigue, or inconvenience, which he occasionally had to endure, he always returned home with a smile upon his face, that seemed to say, "I have been about my Father's business." Never did he once say, I wish I had a chaise; and when I urged him in bad weather to take one, he always answered, "I like walking better; having no horse to take care of, I have my mind free, and I often compose my sermons by the way." As he was disappointed in his hope of obtaining pupils in German, he felt the necessity of doing something else for the support of his family, and he determined to give a course of lectures. He chose the History of Pantheism for his subject. He had devoted much time and effort to the faithful study of Spinoza and the other pantheistic writers, and he thought he might do some good, by showing what this doctrine really was. He had noticed with deep interest the controversy hat existed between the old and the new school of heology; he did not take part entirely with either ide, not because he believed, with some people, that he middle path was, of course, the right, or the

safest, but simply because he did not entirely agree with either. His sympathies were altogether with the new school; but he thought that some of their writings were decidedly pantheistic in their tendency, and his stern, uncompromising belief in a strict individual responsibility, growing out of the perfect freedom of the human will, made him shrink from any approach to a faith, which, in his view, annihilated both. He was, however, deeply pained when he heard those men, who advanced these opinions, called infidels. He well knew, also, that some, who were so accused, disclaimed Pantheistic views; but this made it seem only the more important, that people should know what Pantheism really was. He believed that a free, and temperate, and fair discussion of all these subjects would aid the cause of true religion, and he gave himself to this work with a true and hearty zeal.

His purpose, at first, was to write his lectures; but, before he had finished the first page of the first lecture, he gave up the thought, and determined to make copious notes, and then trust to the excitement of the subject and the occasion for his modes of expression. Among his notes I find the two sentences which he wrote, and then discarded after his change of plan. I quote them, as they give his view of the importance of the subject.

"Of all the dark subjects, which the mind of man has labored to bring to light, there is no one that demands so strong an effort of its united powers, as

that which I wish to bring before you in this course. The subject of investigation is, the relation between God and the world; whether there be a God of nature, or nature itself be God. These are questions which call indeed for the utmost exertion of the spirit that is endowed with the singular power, and impelled by the unquenchable desire, to search all things, even the deep things of God."

The mass of notes and authorities he collected for his course is very great, but nothing is finished except the above passage. His audience was small, but sufficiently large to afford him a small compensation for his labor; and, as all his friends were there, he was not disheartened, but rather encouraged, by the result of this effort; and he, immediately after the termination of this course, commenced another on Infidelity. His audience was smaller. This course was also unwritten. Every one seemed impressed with his eloquence and fervor, his clear representation of dark and abstruse subjects, his fair, his scrupulously just account of the opinions of those with whom he entirely differed, and the sincere and solemn declaration of his own faith, with which he concluded.

It required a philosophical and learned mind to do full justice to these two courses of lectures, particularly the course on Pantheism. They were the result of long and faithful study; had they been written, his literary reputation might well have rested upon them alone. "They little know, who hear me," he said to me, "how much labor any one of

these lectures has cost. I have, in fact, been many years preparing them." He delivered them on Sunday evenings, after having walked out to Dorchester to preach. He returned about two hours before the time for his lecture, which he had prepared for during the week. He was so wearied with his walk and preaching, that, in order to be able to speak, he had to lie down and sleep till tea was ready for him, and took only half an hour to collect his thoughts and prepare for his lecture, which was always more than an hour in length. Both of his subjects were evidently unpopular, and were, perhaps, thought dry by a great portion of his hearers.

At the request of the Rev. Dr. H. Ware, Jr., he was induced to repeat his lectures on Pantheism at Cambridge. As he took it for granted, that not only the students from the Divinity School, but some of the undergraduates might attend, he lengthened his course from six to eight lectures, in order that he might have a better opportunity of explaining what was dark in some of the systems which he should lay before them. As he knew many of the students were not rich, he did not increase his terms. His audience was so small, that, in a pecuniary point of view, it would have been better for him to have remained at home. This was a trial to him, it revived some of the painful recollections of his disappointments in the College. There were, indeed, present some few ever dear, ever faithful old friends, and they cheered his heart; "but," he said to me, "when I saw, on the first evening, how few were present, of the many who

were wont to give their presence for the encouragement of almost any lecturer, I felt that I was indeed a stranger in Cambridge."

Dr. Follen had frequently spoken, during the preceding summer, of visiting his family in Switzerland. He alludes to this plan in a letter to Harriet Martineau.

"*Boston, December 1st*, 1838.

"DEAREST HARRIET,

"This is the close of Eliza's, and this is the beginning and the key-note of my song. How near, how present, you are to us in your letters! They make us believers in a kind of epistolary transubstantiation, by which these visible emblems become your very self to us, who partake of them in the faith of friendship. Eliza has told you all about us. In the letter which did not reach you, we expressed the fervent wish, that we might meet you next summer in Switzerland. There I could be your interpreter, not between you and the mountains, for they possess the gift of tongues, preaching the gospel of freedom to each in his own mother tongue, but between you and the men.

"My brother sent me word, through Mr. Gannett, that I should be perfectly safe in Switzerland, though not in Germany. This does not tempt me, however, to think of any thing like a permanent abode in that beautiful mountain home. I am persuaded my sphere of action is this world of experiment, though our experiments are, as yet, somewhat like Franklin's kite, *before* he had succeeded in bringing down the light-

ning from heaven. But '*Frisch zu!*' is our watchword.

"I have lately attended a meeting of some of the leaders of the new school of Unitarians. A clear determination to break loose from the Unitarian orthodoxy, and a vague conception of something greater and better, with marked individuality of opinion and mutual respect, characterized the discussion.

"I have derived much pleasure and instruction from conversing with Mr. Adam, of Calcutta, the friend of Rammohun Roy, for some time editor of 'The India Gazette,' and now intrusted with a commission relating to the education of the people in India. He is going to England, to urge his plans with the government. He has requested me to give him a letter to you. I think his plan has the right foundation. Instead of imposing upon the people the benefit of the English schools, he seeks the improvement and support of the primary and higher schools already established by the natives. This seems to place education essentially on the same ground on which all missionary efforts, as it seems to me, should be placed. It is a fact, that every Christian doctrine and precept may be found in the sacred books of the Hindoos. These should be collected, and made the foundation of a progressive faith, as well as the efficient refutation of idolatrous errors. I communicated these views to Mr. Adam, and he agreed with me entirely, and ascribed the signal failure of all missionary enterprises in India chiefly to the presumption, that these millions of human beings had lived until now wholly destitute of all moral light.

"You see I have come fairly to the end of my allowance. We rejoice that your hearing is still improving, and that you are in the full tide of successful action. Eliza bids me say, that she likes your "Maid of All Work" very much.

"Yours, ever affectionately,

"C. FOLLEN."

It cannot be denied, that there was at this time a growing feeling of discouragement in Dr. Follen's mind. He thought that his failure in New York had been a serious injury to him; he felt the oppression of public opinion, which condemned his unpopular views. The principles for which he was thus called upon to suffer, were all the more dear to him. That allegiance to liberty and humanity should be thus indirectly, but practically, persecuted in a republic acknowledging these great principles as the foundation of its existence, was mournful to him; but he looked at this inconsistency as he did at the faults of his friends, as a departure from their true nature. Though he was grieved, and though he himself was a sufferer, yet his faith and love were always greater than their sins.

He had long been thinking of a visit to his own country, and this seemed to him to be a favorable moment. He hoped, that, when he returned, his prospects for the future might become brighter, and, if nothing more satisfactory should offer, he could open a school. His only objection to a school was, the fear that it would leave him no time to write; but,

as soon as he should have viewed it as a duty, he would have turned his thoughts solely to the advantages that belonged to such an employment.

Having once seriously thought of a visit to his father-land, all the latent homesickness, that present duties and necessity had led him to stifle, revived. He often occupied himself in laying out the plan of our journey through France to his brother's residence in Zurich, and in arranging the way we should pass our time in Switzerland. It was not idly. He and I were to teach English, and he intended to deliver lectures in Berne and Zurich, and he hoped in this way to be able to earn a subsistence for us, and pay our travelling expenses. He anticipated great aid from his brother Augustus in writing his Psychology, which he hoped to finish while he was with him. He had determined to have nothing to do with the politics of the country. His joy at the thought of seeing his family again was so great, that he became almost reconciled to the unpleasant circumstances of his situation, which left him free to go where he would, and without any desirable field of exertion open before him. We made many arrangements for our departure in May, and began to long for the time to arrive. But neither his disappointment with the present, nor his hopes and longings for the future, so disturbed Dr. Follen's mind, as to make any sensible alteration in his habitually serene and cheerful manner. Peace, heavenly peace, ever attended him. He entered into the pleasures and interests of all who were around him. I will give one instance of this

ready sympathy, and of that childlike surrender of himself to those he loved. Some friends were arranging *tableaux vivans*. They asked me for a subject; I proposed the family of the Vicar of Wakefield, when Moses returned from the fair with the spectacles. "Who," said my husband, "can you get for the Vicar?" "No one," I replied, sportively, "could do it so well as you; you must take that part." "I thought so," he said; "I am very busy, studying for my lecture; but if you will prepare every thing, so that I shall have nothing to do but to appear, I am at your service." He went with us to the friend's house, where the exhibition was to take place, although he could ill spare the time; he so loved to encourage innocent sport, that he put aside his books, and entered with all his heart into the pleasure. After he had been enjoying the exhibition for some time, he was told that his turn to appear had come. When the old-fashioned clerical coat and wig had been put on him, he looked up with the greatest earnestness and simplicity, and said, "Now tell me exactly how I must look; for I have had no time to think of my part, or look into the book." I said, "Think of the Vicar's words, when he said, 'he hoped all would be for the best,' which the event would convert either into a prophecy, or an expression of benevolent anxiety; and that he is looking at the spectacles Moses brings, in this state of mind." "I have it," he replied. He looked his part so perfectly, that the loud applause of the company was irrepressible. The rest of the group lost all self-

possession; but he stood immovable, with the same serene simplicity, the same shrewd benevolence in his face through the whole time, till the curtain was drawn. "How," we all exclaimed, "did you maintain your gravity amidst such shouts of laughter?" "I was determined to act my part perfectly well," he replied. When we told him how well he had done, he seemed much pleased, and extremely amused to find that his own son did not know him.

One Sunday evening, after his return from preaching, he related to me a sort of vision that had passed before him while he was in the pulpit, waiting for the hour of service, and, half asleep, with his eyes closed, in a dreamy state of mind, was resting himself from his walk. I thought it so beautiful, that I asked him to write it down, which he did. A short time afterwards he had an opportunity of writing to his elder brother, and he gave an account of it to him. I find among his papers a copy of this letter, in English, which I feel assured will be read with interest.

"*Boston, January 7th*, 1839.

"My dear Brother,

"You, who are a dreamer, and, moreover, a philosopher of dreams, will take an interest in an occurrence, which, though it impressed me powerfully at the time, was soon forgotten, and might have passed ere long, out of the reach of remembrance, if it had not been revived by the sight of the old meeting-house, on my way to the distant village where I was last Sunday morning, to break the bread of life to

small number of fellow-worshippers. I wrote it down on my return, while it was yet fresh in my memory, lest it should share the fate of many similar events, which make up the fabulous portion of our inward history.

"This sudden recovery of something that seemed gone for ever from my conscious existence, reminded me of some observations of yours on the nature of dreams, and the difficulty of keeping in existence these frail children of our wayward fancy, even when they have survived the critical moment of awaking from a profound sleep; and the still more hopeless task of calling them back from the kingdom of shadows, after they have once crossed the stream of oblivion. Often have I endeavoured to conjure up some beautiful image, which visited me in the deep solitude of sleep, and stood before me still bright as the morning star in the twilight of rekindled reason. But all that my capricious memory has saved is the bright reflection and the music of the words; but the words themselves, and the features, which made the strange visiter so dear, and at the time so important to me, have passed away. Most of our dreams and reveries are indeed nothing else than a quaint and superfluous paraphrase of the plain text of our waking experience, and therefore sink at once into insignificance as our eyes open upon the sober realities around us. But, amidst this senseless masquerade of common-place occurrences, dressed up in imposing costumes, to mock, amuse, or vex our childish fancy, now and then there is a form that leaves a deep

impression on the book of life within us. But, shut up in the hurry and throng of more immediate cares and interests, it may lie neglected and unknown, till some kindred experience chance to unfold the hidden record, and invest it with prophetic power. But I am bungling in your own favorite department of hyperphysical speculation, and will come down at once to the simple narrative which I have somewhat ostentatiously introduced; — a vision in an old Puritan meetinghouse in New England.

"It was on the last Sunday of the year, when I left the city early in the morning, in order to reach in season the distant village where I had promised to preach, with a view to relieve the aged minister of the place. I had spent the greater part of the preceding night in preparation for the solemn services of the coming day. The morning was cold and clear; and, as I walked very fast with my mind fixed upon the object of my errand, I took no notice of any thing on my way, until the old village church with its lofty steeple stood before me, glittering in the morning sun. The bell had not begun to ring. I entered the church, which was empty, and took my place in the high, old-fashioned pulpit. After I had selected my hymns, and opened the huge folio Bible at the part from which I intended to read to the people, I wrapped my cloak around me, and sat down, waiting for the sound of the bell, and for the first worshippers to make their appearance. The deep silence that reigned in the large empty building of the oldest meetinghouse in New England, which, whenever I had been in it before was

filled with people, had an effect upon my mind which I do not know how to describe. The solitary present changed insensibly into an image of the silent past; the whited walls of the meetinghouse grew dim, and assumed their primitive aspect, such as it was in the days of the founders of this ancient settlement in the then unknown wilderness of New England. My eyes were fixed upon the door opposite the pulpit, when it opened, and, to my unutterable surprise, a number of men, in the sober pilgrim dress, their heads bent towards the earth, with their hats in one hand, while the other held the musket, entered, and advanced with a firm step toward different parts of the house, where they sat down in silence. Crowd after crowd entered, until the floor of the church was filled with armed worshippers. My soul was transported with awe and unearthly joy; but the longer I dwelt upon the grave assembly below, so much the calmer I felt; so much the stronger was my conviction, that all there, and all on earth and in heaven, are fellow-worshippers of the same Being, and that whoever fears Him has nothing else to fear.

"One old man, with book in hand, took his stand opposite the desk; and now a strange misgiving took possession of my heart, lest I should see the grave shepherd of this unearthly flock come forward and claim the place that was occupied by an intruder. But all was quiet below; every seat was filled; and they all sat motionless, with their eyes fixed upon the ground; even the old sexton opposite the desk, who alone was standing in the whole assembly, remained

in the same posture, with book in hand, as if he was to stand there for ever.

"Presently a noise was heard before the house; upon which this whole assembly of human statues started up, grasping their muskets, and, turning toward the door, seemed on the point of leaving their places. The door opened; but, instead of the wild men of the forest, that lurked about the meetinghouses of the Puritans, a number of boys and girls, with smiling faces, their Sunday-school books under their arms, entered the haunted temple. All my apprehensions now were lost in fear for the children, when they should come in sight of the stern worshippers from another world. But to my inexpressible surprise and delight, the little Sunday scholars walked right onward with light steps and cheerful looks toward their accustomed seats, and wherever they went the dread forms gave way, unperceived by the children. Nay, here and there a smile, passing over their stern features, seemed like the reflection of the bright countenances of the little intruders, as they stepped into the places of their great forefathers. The floor of the church was swarming with children. The shadowy host had retreated to the galleries. There I saw them with their hats on, their muskets in their hands, moving faster and faster toward the centre of the front gallery opposite the pulpit, where the whole moving mass seemed to concentrate in one dark and shapeless spot. My eyes were fixed upon that spot, and, as I was gazing, it assumed a shape that became more and more distinct, till it grew into the form of a gigantic

eagle. His claws grasped the railing of the gallery; his wings were extended wide; but, instead of feathers, they bristled with glittering swords and muskets, such as I had seen but a moment before in the hands of those dauntless worshippers; while his head was lifted high, and his great eyes were fixed upon the morning sun. The red light that flashed from that sun-bound vision overpowered and dazzled my sight. I covered my face with my hands, but that unearthly living emblem of the American Union, his wings feathered with the arms, and his eyes refulgent with the pious daring, of the forefathers, stood still before me. I looked down upon the children, to recover my sense of the natural, which was almost annihilated by the contemplation of those sublime and awful wonders.

"Again I looked up, and, in the place of the martial, gigantic eagle, I beheld with delight the gentle form of a dove. Now the chant of the children resounded from below; the dove spread out her wings and rose to the ceiling. Now the roof of the house flew open like a double gate, and revealed the dome of heaven; and the dove, borne upward by the swelling chorus from below, ascended higher and higher.

"With my whole soul bent upon her upward flight, I strove to catch the last visible movement of those celestial wings, when the gentle touch of a human hand on my shoulder, waked me from my reverie. The aged minister, whose services I had come to lighten on this day by my labor of love, stood by my side, and bade me welcome to his pulpit.

"C. F."

CHAPTER XXI.

Dr. Follen is invited to East Lexington. — Takes Charge of a Parish there. — The Erection of a Church in Lexington. — Letters to Dr. Channing. — Letters to Mr. Tracy. — He is invited to lecture in New York. — Letter to Dr. Channing.

Our plan for going to Europe was almost fixed, and our arrangements were nearly made, when Dr. Follen received, from the society in Lexington, which, as has already been noticed, was gathered together under his care, a most urgent request to come to them and take the charge of their religious concerns, for a year if possible, if not, for six months. The committee told him, that the existence of their society depended upon him; that he united them all, but that no other man would; that their religious interests were all at stake; that they all knew and loved him, and that their difficulties, which were many, would cease, if he would come to them and be their pastor, at least for a time. They said they were poor, and could give him only six hundred dollars a year at present, but that if he did not come, they should all be scattered. They urged him so earnestly, that he promised to consider their proposal. After weighing the question carefully, and consulting with his reason and con-

science, he came to the conclusion, that, as a servant of Christ, who had solemnly devoted himself to the ministry of his word, he was hardly free to refuse such an opportunity of laboring in his vineyard. He asked me, if I was willing to postpone our visit to Switzerland, and go to Lexington; saying that he himself found it very hard to relinquish this long hoped-for pleasure, but he thought it right to do so. I agreed with him, that to go and do what he could for this little religious society, was an unquestionable duty, and that we must go.

He stipulated with the people, that, as they could not give him an adequate support, they should not call upon him for parochial duties; that all they should demand as a right, should be preaching on Sunday, for that what time he could spare from writing sermons, he would want to employ in some way for the support of his family. This the committee agreed to, and on the first of May we went to East Lexington. We had engaged a house, and sent to New York for our furniture, and again we had the pleasure of having a roof of our own over our heads. When our furniture was opened, we discovered that all our carpets were missing. They had doubtless been stolen by a man whose wife and child we had saved from starving, and on whom we had conferred every sort of kindness. He was a drunkard, and we hoped to redeem him, but we failed. The carpets were a heavy loss, and we had no money to enable us to replace them, and this was an important addition to our pecuniary losses in New York. "We

must wait patiently," said my husband, "till I can earn some new ones." So sweetly he bore all things. Once more he opened his books, and put them into his book-case, and arranged them on shelves to suit him in his study. Once more he took out all his precious papers, and placed them where he could make use of them. Once more all the mute companions of our various movings, our simple articles of furniture, our few, but dearly-loved pictures, — all the senseless, but to us sacred and eloquent witnesses of our little trials and our great joys, — were unboxed, and so arranged as to make us feel, that we had once more a visible home in this world, that we might call our own. Our friends in Lexington helped us, but Dr. Follen had to labor very hard with his own hands, as he would not spend a dollar that we could possibly save; but, with an unwearied cheerfulness, he did all that was to be done, dwelling only upon what was pleasing in our situation, and by his patience, his sweetness, his courage and cheerfulness, transmuting all evil into good, so that what seemed at first trials, became new sources of happiness to us. When he saw me place any thing in the room in the way it had been placed in past times, and as I knew he liked to see it, he would exclaim, "O, how pleasant to have our own home again!" Our first breakfast, our first dinner, our first supper, in our own house, O what a holy joy he imparted to them, what festivals did he make of them, by the delight he expressed at our again having a table of our own. Who, to have seen him, would have thought, that he was making

a great sacrifice to duty? Now he hoped to finish his "Psychology." We supposed we should have few visiters, and he thought the leisure that he had provided for in his agreement with the people, and the retirement in which we lived, would give him ample time to write. But Dr. Follen was never a good calculator for himself, especially when he saw an opportunity of doing good to others. He found, that the people were very desirous of building a church, and ready to do all they could for themselves, but, as he thought, deserving of aid from others, and he resolved to give them all the assistance in his power. He tried to interest all our friends in their behalf. Many subscribed simply for his sake, and on the condition that he was to be their pastor. He encouraged the ladies of the society in making preparations for a fair to aid in completing and furnishing the church; he wished me to assist in it, and he urged the people to commence the work immediately. He proposed the plan upon which it was built. He had it much at heart, that the little church at East Lexington should not only be exactly adapted to the wants and wishes of the people, but should be a fine specimen of art in its design and proportions, and furnish a beautiful, though simple model for other churches, and thus be an ornament to the village, in the midst of which it was to be placed. He proved to the people, that this was consistent with economy and convenience. He took unwearied pains in directing the construction of the model, which was finally adopted. The pulpit, and its emblematic ornaments, were entirely of his designing.

He put his whole heart into this work, and took a very great pleasure in the thought of seeing it accomplished.

He so inspired the people with his own zeal and courage, that they agreed to his proposal to break the ground for their church on the fourth of July. They called upon him to make an address upon the occasion. The hall where the people usually worshipped, looked upon the spot where they were to erect their new church; the young ladies of the village dressed it up with roses; they hung wreaths round the pulpit and the chandeliers; and their pastor, with his heart full of delight at this beautiful display of taste, and at the success of his wishes, made an address, that filled the hearts of all who listened to him with grateful joy. His address was extempore; he did not know till an hour before, that he should certainly be called upon to make one. He had just seen them turn up the ground for his church. He made only a very few notes, in the pulpit; his text was, "No man putting his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of heaven." After exhorting the people to show themselves worthy, by fidelity to their own purposes, and adherence to the admonition in the text, he spoke of the day itself, our national jubilee. The few notes, which he made for this occasion, I find among his papers.

"This is the busy time of haying, and the eager sound of the scythe flying through the perfumed air, reminds us of the harvest of peace and plenty, that covers our land. My friends, let us remember those

who labored in times past, and into whose labors we have entered. Let not the happy reapers forget those who forged the scythe, and watered the grateful meadows with their blood.

"This is the season of roses, and the fairest flower in the noblest garden on earth, is that which opens on the fourth of July, the rose of liberty. Brethren, while we gaze on its beauty, and delight in its perfume, let us not forget, that the thorns grew before the blossoms; let us remember those, who cherished the plant while it bore nothing but sharp prickles, while their prophetic heroism beheld the flower already among the thorns. The crown of thorns is higher than the garland of roses, which glory places on the brow of victory."

Dr. Follen finished his address by urging the importance and duty of moral, political, and religious freedom to all, and exhorting them to cherish a sacred respect for the rights of all; he urged them to consecrate the work they had begun that day, by a solemn purpose, that no one should be excluded from the church they intended to erect, on account of his honest opinions; he concluded with a most devout and fervent prayer for the blessing of God upon the labor of their hands; he prayed that this church might never be desecrated by intolerance, or bigotry, or party spirit; that more especially its doors might never be closed against any one, who would plead in the cause of oppressed humanity; that within its walls all unjust and cruel distinctions might cease, and that there all men might meet as brethren.

After the plan was decided upon, and the work actually commenced, Dr. Follen thought that he should be able to devote himself to his "Psychology"; but it was not so. There was daily some call upon him for his advice or for his actual services, and he had no leisure time left for writing, and hardly even for thinking. He submitted to this with his accustomed patience and sweetness. I have repeatedly seen him arrange his papers, and place himself at his study-table, and heard him say, "Now this day I mean to devote to writing; I hope no one will disturb me," when, soon after, some one of the parish would call to ask him about something, and take up his whole morning; but he bore it all without a complaint. He would often say, "My 'Psychology' is in my mind, I am gathering materials, and getting ready to write; true, I expected something else, and engaged for it, but I hope I am doing these people good, and I may also be the means of doing something towards improving the style of our churches; I hope my little church may become a model." He encouraged and assisted me in the efforts I was making to prepare for the fair, and we both devoted ourselves, heart and hands, the whole summer, to this one object. He wrote no complete sermons, only the beginnings of many which he finished in the desk. He wrote a notice for the "Christian Examiner," of "Selections from German Literature"; he also wrote a little article for the "Liberty Bell," published at the Anti-slavery fair, and made a translation of two of Körner's poems for the same publication

one of these poems was printed in that volume, and the next in the one of last year; both are to be found at the end of this Memoir. These were the only literary labors he completed during this summer.

It had been Dr. Follen's purpose to prepare a course of lectures to be delivered in Boston in the winter, and in consequence of the advice of some friends, he determined to take for his subject the history of Switzerland. Such was his conviction that this would be an interesting topic, and that he should have a good audience, that he engaged the large lecture-room in the Temple to deliver them in. He was told, that the young people would be brought by their parents to hear them; that all would know that it was a history in which he would be entirely at home, and to which he would give a peculiar interest; that his lectures the last winter had been abstruse and metaphysical, but that all sorts of people would be interested in the history of Switzerland, and that doubtless his lectures would be popular. His own heart was so much in the land of William Tell, and his recollections so glowing of his residence there, that he easily fell into the belief, that he should succeed in interesting others in it; and when, occasionally, he felt that his scanty salary did not meet his expenses, and that he was trespassing upon funds that he meant to reserve, he would comfort himself with the idea, that the proceeds of the lectures would balance the account. So he dismissed all anxiety. It was a great enjoyment to him this summer to be able to exercise the duties of hospitality; dear friends were

often with us, and he felt deeply grateful when it so happened, that though, like the Apostle, he had neither silver nor gold to bestow, yet, such as he had he could and did give, to those who were less favored than he in spiritual gifts.

Dr. Follen was singularly happy this year, and yet all things without him had been different from his anticipations and wishes; he had hoped to be in Switzerland; he had given up this favorite wish for the sake of building up the church in Lexington; when he came there his heart was fixed upon the dear hope of finishing his "Psychology," and of enjoying literary leisure, whereas he had not had a day to himself; all his time, all his thoughts were demanded by the people and their concerns, and he generously and cheerfully gave them all. Occasionally he would sigh, and say, "O my precious time, my cherished hope of finishing my work on the Soul; — it comes hard, but it will not be always so;" and he soon became reconciled, and gave himself up to what seemed to him the present duty. He was greatly in hopes, that the little society under his care would form a church dedicated to religious freedom, universal brotherhood, and a true Christian philanthropy. The never-forgotten hope revived in his heart, of carrying into execution his favorite idea of a true church. He often invited the people to meet together to converse upon religious subjects, to express their difficulties, and discuss various opinions. He encouraged all to speak freely, and wished to be himself only one of the speakers; although he did not entirely succeed

in this effort, he hoped finally to overcome the unwillingness of many to communicate their religious views and feelings.

It is impossible to describe the pleasure he took in the progress of the building already consecrated by his prayers, and by his self-sacrificing devotion. It was close by our house; as soon as he rose in the morning, he would look out of the window and say, "There is my pretty church; how pleasant it is to see it growing daily under my eyes; I shall never want to leave it;" and it was the full purpose of his heart, if the people could support him comfortably, to build a house for himself, and remain there as their pastor, after he had first been to Switzerland, where he still intended to go. He also wished to visit England, and had written to ascertain from his friend Harriet Martineau, whether there was any probability of his getting a hearing in London as a lecturer, hoping by this means to defray his travelling expenses. A letter arrived after Dr. Follen left Lexington, which he never saw, encouraging him to pursue this plan; and a letter was already written to him, by Mrs. Reid of London, whose unbounded hospitality has blessed so many travellers from our country, inviting him to come with his family to her house in London, when she learned from the papers, that he was out of the reach of her thoughtful and truly Christian kindness. "I burned the letter," she says, in one she wrote afterwards to Harriet Martineau, "and with it threw away my best hopes for this year."

So hearty, so childlike, was the pleasure that he would have received from this kind act, had he lived to enjoy it, and so sincerely would he have reciprocated a friendship resting so on benevolence, and on love for our mutual friend, who, in spite of distance, had brought us together, that I find a melancholy, but a very dear pleasure, in mentioning these circumstances.

During a short excursion, that Dr. Follen made this summer to Nahant, he wrote a letter to his friend Dr. Channing, which contains some interesting passages.

"*Nahant, August 17th*, 1839.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I am here on a visit with my wife and child, and preached here on Sunday. I saw yesterday Dr. Kirkland. His mind is very much weakened; in a dreamy state, with occasional bright intervals. In one of these, I was told, he spoke with great tenderness and eloquence of the life to come; proof enough that the mind is the same, only in a chrysalis state, awaiting its deliverance.

"I need not tell you, nor could I, how precious and grateful to me are the expressions of esteem and affection in your letter. I give up without hesitation or regret, all angel visits, be they dreams or realities, to the favored Swedenborgian, for the simple assurances of love from living hearts.

"Mr. P—— has mentioned to you my intention of delivering a course of lectures on the history of

Switzerland this winter. If I could make an arrangement with a society in the city, as I believe you suggested, on certain terms, relieving me from the uncertainty of success if I attempt it on my own account, I should be glad to do so. But I am not acquainted with any one that could assist me in this matter; and if you could put me in the way, I should be glad to avail myself of your advice and help.

"I feel very much interested in the recent evidences of the increasing dependence of all social interests on the state of commerce and the concentration of commercial power in the Bank of England.

"The steam-ship navigation seems to have completed our dependence on that market of the world; and the present consequences seem to me very salutary in checking our wild speculations and reckless credit system. The importance of our banks seems to vanish more and more; they are becoming mere branch banks of the English institution. What would be the effect if the efforts of some persons in England to bring about a divorce between the bank and the government should succeed, and all be reduced to private banking? What is the moral aspect of these great social changes? I think it likely, that while these operations are going on, the object of which seems to be to unsettle all the local prices of things, and settle their value in the commerce of the world, attention will be drawn away from the higher interests of man. But the association of all nations will break the spell of local prejudice and partial measurement, and impress all men with the truth, that among all

human possessions, there is none so important as their simple humanity. But you see I have come to the bottom of my wisdom.

"Yours affectionately,

"C. FOLLEN."

A letter which Dr. Follen wrote this summer to Mr. Tracy, upon receiving his translation of "Undine," will be read, I think, with great interest. I give it, with some passages from his letters to the same friend, written some years before; as they were all in fact upon the same subject, it seems best that they should be read in connexion.

"*Cambridge, August 4th*, 1839.

"DEAR SIR,

"Pardon my having delayed until now to answer your letter, which has given me much pleasure. I regret, that I am not near you to accompany and assist you in your perambulations of the interminable forests of German literature. But I hope you will frequently address to me questions like those you have sent; and, to assure you that it will give me no trouble, but only pleasure, to attend to your inquiries. I shall always take the liberty of putting off my answer to a time when no business prevents my gratifying my own taste in serving my friends.

"I will now answer your questions as well as I can. In Schiller's 'Pegasus Yoked,' I suppose the word 'Haymarket,' designates the long and spacious street in London, in which the opera-house stands

and which received its name from there being a market for hay and straw. A place, in which every thing, whether celestial or terrestrial, is valued only for the price it will bring in the market; in an age in which every talent that cannot be made use of for ploughing and carrying, &c., is suffered to starve and be abused. This I suppose was the leading idea which made the poet lay the scene of his story in a place consecrated to the Muses, in the employment of Momus. In the second line, the word 'noch' has the meaning of *besides*; viz. where other things besides are converted into merchandise, i. e., other things, which, from their nature, seem as little liable to become marketable commodities as the horse of the Muses. The good old English right of husbands to sell their wives, and similar precious privileges, readily present themselves to the mind.

"In the 'Wizard's Apprentice,' in the second line, the particle 'doch' gives emphasis to 'einmal.' The position of the words, the verb standing at the head, gives to the sentence the expression of rejoicing that 'the old wizard has for once gone away.'

"The words 'Walle, walle,' are an address or command to the servant broom, 'Go! go!' 'Strecke' means space, or distance; literally, 'Go! go! many a space,' i. e., great distance. The bath is preparing in the house of the old wizard; the broom is sent with the waterpot to the river, to fill the tub.

"The word 'erst' in the last line strengthens the preceding 'nur' ('erst' frequently means 'nur,' i. e., only). The old master is the first, he is the only one

that calls you as ministering spirits to his purpose. The proneness of mere learners to try experiments before they have mastered the principles, and comprehended the object and consequences of them, this practice, so dangerous in the moral as well as in the physical sciences, is evidently the subject of humorous reproof in the poem.

" ' Knight of Toggenburg.' The name is derived from the old castle Toggenburg, in Switzerland, in the canton of Zurich.

" I believe I have now answered all your questions; it was a very pleasant task. Mrs. F. joins me in affectionate remembrances to yourself and Mrs. Tracy.

" Your friend and servant,

" CHAS. FOLLEN."

" *Watertown, April 25th*, 1835.

" DEAR SIR,

" I received your letter in the midst of the bustle of moving from Cambridge to Watertown. I am sorry that my neglect to write to you immediately after receiving the manuscript of your translation of ' Undine ' should have occasioned any doubt on your part, as to the safe arrival of the manuscript.

" I shall now have many leisure evenings, and the first shall be devoted to the perusal of your manuscript. I regret the delay of this truly pleasant task but it has been caused, in part at least, by my determination conscientiously to adhere to your wish, that I would give only leisure time to your inquiries; as

feel sure you will, in this case, never hesitate to make them at any time."

"*Watertown, May 6th*, 1835.

"My dear Sir,

"I return to you at last your translation of 'Undine,' with the original, and the questions you sent me. I hope you will consider the freedom of my critical annotations as a proof of the interest with which I have perused your translation. Mrs. Follen, who read it to me while I was comparing it with the original, joins me in thanking you for the great pleasure you have afforded us. I can only hope that it may soon be printed for the benefit of many a simple, affectionate, and wonder-loving heart.

"I hope that the beautiful days of summer, if there be any to come, will bring either you to our quarters, or us to yours. With kind regards to Mrs. Tracy,

"Your friend and servant,

"C. Follen."

"*East Lexington, August 21st*, 1839.

"My dear Sir,

"I received your beautiful version of 'Undine' in the midst of bustling preparations for our Fair; and gladly avail myself of the first interval of leisure after a journey to Nahant, where I preached last Sunday, to thank you for your welcome gift, and the kind words which accompanied it. I hope that many will drink of the 'little spring of silver brightness,' and,

if there be danger that the present age become so wise as to disdain every acquaintance with water-spirits, or any other kind of spirits, and in its pride of knowledge forget what the education of the heart owes to the ministry of romance, and more especially to the visions and traditions of the nursery, those surely are deserving well of their generation, who endeavour to draw their attention to the low murmur of that 'little spring,' the Undine of the heart, whose image is brought before us in the German story.

"I was glad to learn, from your letter, that your attention was turned to the 'Galgen Männlein,' and that you intend to introduce it to the Anglo-Saxon branch of the Great Family in a new translation, together with some kindred compositions, translated and original. If I were near you, it would give me great pleasure to render you any assistance in my power; but I think you may give yourself up confidently to the guidance of that 'German instinct,' which has served you so well in the translation of 'Undine.' The Fair in our village, in which you have expressed a kind interest, has been, beyond all expectation, successful. The weather was, on the whole, favorable, the tents on the top of the high hill in the centre of the east village, looked very well, and there was a large number of visiters. The sale of the articles amounted to more than eleven hundred dollars, the expenses to about three hundred, so that there are eight hundred left free of expense. We hope our church will be dedicated about the middle of November. The people are full of zeal.

"Mrs. Follen joins me in affectionate regards to you and Mrs. Tracy.

"Your friend and servant,

"C. FOLLEN."

Dr. Follen was invited this autumn to a meeting in West Cambridge, of a number of Sunday schools, where some gentlemen, interested in the subject, were expected to speak to the children, and he, among others, was asked to address the youthful audience. He was much pleased and affected at the sight of so many children together, and the words he spoke to the teachers and their little pupils gratified them so much, that, after the meeting, they presented him with a beautiful bunch of flowers, as an expression of their feelings. He joined them at a little rural *fête* they had afterwards in a neighbouring wood, and returned home with his heart full of joy. Holding his own boy in one hand, and his bunch of flowers in the other, "Here," he said, his face glowing with delight, "see my trophies."

His love of the beautiful was intense, in its most humble as well as sublime manifestations. I have seen him gaze at the wings of an insect till, I am sure, he must have committed all its exquisite coloring and curious workmanship to memory. One Sunday, when he had walked far into the country to preach, he was requested to address the children of the Sunday school. He gave them an account of a *blue* dragon-fly that he had seen on his way. He described it, with the clear blue sky shining through

its thin gauzy wings, and its airy form reflected in the still pure water over which it hovered, looking doubtful whether to stay here or return to the heavens from whence it apparently came. He sought, by interesting the children in its beauty, to awaken feelings of admiration and love towards all the creatures that God has created. Nothing could exceed his tenderness towards animals; he would let the cat sit upon his shoulder and walk over his study-table undisturbed, and I have seen him wait patiently till she had passed very deliberately over the paper upon which he was writing. I once noticed a spider crawling over his paper; I asked him why he did not put it out of the window. "He is travelling about so busily," he said, "I do not like to disturb him." This cat, that he was so indulgent to, he had brought out all the way from Boston when a kitten, with other bundles, in his hands, for the sake of pleasing Charles. He often said, when he saw butterflies, that he was sorry that he had killed so many when he was a boy for the sake of making a collection. Although he used to like fishing so much (when a boy), he had lost his love of it entirely. "If it were necessary for food," he would say, "I could do it, but I cannot for amusement."

It was a great pleasure to him to meet with the love of the beautiful in others, especially under circumstances where it might seem unlikely to find it. An instance of this kind I well remember in the course of our last summer. He was called to visit a young woman, who was dying of a rapid consumption. He no

ticed, in the frequent visits he made her, that she always had flowers near her; this pleased him much. The day before she died, a favorite flower of hers was brought to her, that had just opened all its blossoms; she expressed great joy at the sight. The next day she died; it was the fourth of July, the day that she was to have been married. A small, pretty, neat cottage had been built, and was all finished and ready for her and her intended husband, and they were to have entered it on their wedding day. Instead of this, she died on that day, and in a small enclosure next the house her body was consigned to the earth, and her lover had to go about his daily labors, for he was a poor man, lonely and sorrowing. This melancholy cottage was on our road to Boston, and never did we pass it, that my husband did not look sorrowfully at it, and "pay the tribute of a sigh," or a thoughtful word of tender remembrance, to this touching instance of the uncertainty of human hope.

Dr. Follen showed his love and his perception of the beautiful in the way he examined and enjoyed works of art; he never felt that he knew any thing of a fine picture or statue, till he had looked at it long enough to become familiar with all its minutest, as well as most striking, beauties; till he had made it a study and become intimate with it. "I must get it by heart," he would say. His description of Greenough's group of the "Angel and Child," shows how accurately he observed, and how he mastered the subject. His pleasure, therefore, in a work of art had almost the character of an old friendship, for nothing

but the truly beautiful could stand the trial of such scrutiny and faithful study. His enjoyment of all those small acts of love, which give a grace and charm to life as it passes, was acute. He was much gratified with little keepsakes. Christmas and New Year's gifts, when they were expressions of real regard, gave him a true delight; he cherished and never lost them. I have before me a note, that he wrote to a little girl who had sent him a pair of embroidered slippers, which shows how such things pleased him.

"*December 28th*, 1836.

"DEAR MARY,

"I have just found the little note which accompanied your very pretty, as well as useful, present. The note was hidden in the paper which contained the slippers, and there it remained till now, on purpose, no doubt, to add a new pleasure to that of yesterday. If a feather in the cap be such a grand thing, why should not flowers on the shoes be considered a still more elegant article?

"I thank you, dear Mary, for this beautiful expression of your kind regard for

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. FOLLEN."

He loved to make little presents to his friends, and often lamented his limited means, which prevented his giving them what would have a substantial value. Nothing pleased him more than that refined, confiding sportiveness, which is the best evidence of a perfect

love among friends. Once, when some ladies, intimate friends of his, whom he had assisted in climbing up a pretty steep hill, had, as they thought, unobserved by him, planned a little trick to push him down the hill, he perceived their purpose, and, before they were aware of it, took an arm of each, and forced them to perform the very feat that they had intended for him. When he contrived once to put a New Year's gift upon my pillow without waking me, he enjoyed, like a child, my astonishment and pleasure upon waking and finding it there. Nothing could exceed his delight at a surprise contrived by Mrs. F. Butler and two other friends, who came one night, when we were in Stockbridge, and serenaded us with three or four delicious songs, and, the moment we attempted to speak to them, vanished from our sight; he often spoke of it with great satisfaction. No one bore a jest so sweetly as Dr. Follen. He was liable to fits of deep abstraction, and often, after thinking intensely for some time, he would fall into a light sleep. Charles once asked him a question when he was in this state,—he answered slowly and solemnly, "There are certain first principles;" here his speech was cut short by our loud laugh; he joined in our merriment, and relished highly the pleasure his little boy took in telling this story to our friends. I once wrote a little drama to amuse some children, in which the hero of the piece was a student, who was subject to absence of mind, and introduced this and some other real anecdotes of the same kind; when he read it he was much pleased, and said, "I suppose I am to act my own character."

If there had been only the children present, I doubt not he would have done so.

When he once made a very comical mistake, in English, in speaking to the cook, she laughed rudely in his face; instead of being annoyed, he joined in the laugh, and came and repeated his words to me, that I might tell him what was so amusing in his mistake. An account of all his little unthought-of, unasked-for acts of kindness, would be a history of his whole life, for it was full of them; they so comforted and gladdened the hearts of those who lived with him and were dependent upon him, that he made existence seem like a perpetual holyday. One or two instances of his self-forgetting, self-sacrificing kindness will show the common, every-day character of his life. The family were assembled together one Thanksgiving evening, to see a little drama acted by the children. Just before the performance commenced, it was remembered, that in the hurry and excitement of preparation for the evening, one member of the family, who was to be invited, had been forgotten. Dr. Follen had walked out into the country, seven miles and back again, to preach; but, as soon as he heard of this omission, he said, "I will go and bring him, we must not give him a chance to refuse;" it was a pretty long walk, and he was really fatigued with preaching, but he went, and soon returned with his face radiant with the pleasure of successful benevolence.

My sister, who was making us a visit the summer we lived in Lexington, was fond of having a pail of

cold water directly from the well every morning. Our well was dry, and we had to go to a neighbour's for water; but every morning early, with his own hands, he brought a pail of water and placed it at her chamber door. As our means were very limited, and as we had only the service of one woman, he brought much of the wood and water that we used in the family. He would often say, "How differently we view these menial offices when we perform them for those we love; then every thing has a charm, every thing seems holy." One more instance I must give of his benevolence. We had engaged to pass two or three days with a friend in Brookline. We had long been anticipating this pleasure. We went into Boston to take the stage from thence to our friend's, which was four miles the other side of the city. Dr. Follen was *just* stepping into the coach, when some one stopped him, to say that a poor sick girl, whom we had urged to go to the hospital, but in vain on account of some superstitious fear which she had of the place, had said, that if he would take her to Boston in a chaise, and carry her himself to the hospital, she would go; he immediately left us to go by ourselves, and devoted himself to the poor invalid. Just after he joined us again in Boston, a man came express from Lexington for him to attend the funeral of his child. This person was not his parishioner, he had no claim whatever upon him; but he would not be persuaded that another clergyman would do as well. *It* was a great disappointment to Dr. Follen, and to our friends, but he could not find it in his heart to

refuse the poor man; and upon condition that, after the funeral, he would send him to Brookline, he returned with him to Lexington. No vehicle, however, could be found to carry him to Brookline, but a cart, with a miserable horse, and a little boy to drive him. It was a distance of ten miles, and almost dark when they set out. Dr. Follen did not like that the boy should have such a long way to travel back in the dark alone, so, before he was half way to his place of destination, he sent the little fellow home, and walked the rest of the way; he had to pass over a bridge that was repairing, and that it was very unsafe to cross in the dark. He arrived at our friend's house very late in the evening of this day, which he had set apart for pleasure. He was faint and wearied, but his soul was rejoicing at the thought that he had given comfort to the poor and the sorrowful. This was only one of many days passed in such acts of self-sacrifice.

So strong was Dr. Follen's desire to have a permanent home, that he indulged many fond dreams this summer, that the people would be able to give him an adequate support. He had decided upon a spot of ground where, in this case, he should build a house. It was on the side of a hill, with a fine grove to shelter it on two sides. There was a beautiful view of the distant country from it, and he could look directly down on the village, with his pretty little church in the middle of it. Here he daily brought me, to help him decide how the house should be placed, how large it should be; all, even to the smallest arrangement, was decided upon; all, in his hope

ful heart and lively imagination, was already completed. His study, all the arrangements for his books and papers, Charles's room, the guest's chamber, all was planned, and possessed, in our creative imaginations. Hour after hour have we sat there upon a moss-grown rock, anticipating future labors and future joys in our quiet, happy home. He would smile when we set out for a walk, and say, "I am for our seat on the hill where our house is to be; there is no place so pleasant as that to me."

Dr. Follen occasionally, at these times, but not often, alluded to the fact, that his whole life, as it regarded worldly success, had been a series of failures, never with any bitterness, seldom with any thing like despondency. "Had I been willing," he has said, "to lower my standard of right, the world would have been with me, and I might have obtained its favor. I have been faithful to principle under all circumstances, and I had rather fail so, than succeed in another way; besides, I shall do something yet; I am not discouraged, and we are happy in spite of all things." He was, however, very weary of the continual changes we had made, and more especially of a continual change of place; he longed for a more permanent local home. Moreover he had great hope of establishing a truly Christian church at Lexington, according to his own idea; and even his attachment to the pretty building he had done so much towards erecting, had some influence with him; there was of course a growing interest in the people under his care, and he believed that they had a great affection

for him. All these reasons would have induced him to settle with them upon certain conditions, had they been prepared for such an arrangement; but they determined to wait till their house was dedicated, and their pews sold; so that nothing definite was decided upon.

Some time this autumn Dr. Follen received an invitation through Mr. Delf, from the Merchant's Library Association, in New York, to deliver five or six lectures to them upon some branch of German literature. As only distinguished and popular lecturers were invited, he was much gratified with this proposal; it proved to him, that he was not quite forgotten in New York; and this was very grateful to his feelings. We had dear friends there whom we wished to visit; the compensation was handsome, and, in the present state of his finances, very important to him, and he decided, without hesitation, to go. His course was to consist of one lecture upon the general history of German literature, and the remainder on the poetical writings of Schiller. He insisted that Charles and I should accompany him, and never entered upon any project with more hope and pleasure. He was obliged to defer the time of the delivery of his lectures to the 27th of December, on account of his lectures in Boston, which would last till near that time.

The summer had now passed, and with it had disappeared Dr. Follen's hope of completing his "Psychology," and of doing many other things which he had planned, and hoped to do. He had, indeed, stipulated in his agreement with the people, that he

should have the full command of his time, except on the Sabbath, and what might be necessary for his duties in the pulpit; but he had made no agreement with himself, that could bind him not to give, where it was wanted, all the aid that he had to bestow. He saw that he could do good, and, with him, that was a bond always binding. He had given himself up to others; his time, his thoughts, his whole heart had been devoted to the people, and to making the plan, and finding the means for the erection, of their church. It had been his purpose, and his wish, to pass the winter in Boston, with the exception of a few weeks in New York; but he was induced to alter this determination, and to decide to remain in Lexington. He agreed to continue another six months with the people, upon the same terms, that is, three hundred dollars. This, of course, especially in the winter season, was very inadequate to his support; but he depended upon his lectures in Boston and New York to supply all deficiences. His conviction, that the good of the society depended upon his remaining with them, was his great reason for staying.

Dr. Follen received a letter from Dr. Channing this autumn, asking him what he thought was the state of public sentiment in Switzerland, in relation to the right of husbands over their wives; the D'Hauteville case had led to this question. His reply will be read with interest.

"*East Lexington, September 26th*, 1839.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I thank you for the few lines which you sent by my friend Foresti, with whom we have passed here an interesting and very pleasant day. I have now only a few minutes to say, that Eliza and myself are preparing in our minds a longer epistle on the interesting topic your last letter suggested.

"As to public sentiment in Switzerland, I think there is not so great a difference between this and that country, as the claims of the gentleman you speak of seem to suppose. There is, however, a number of old pietistic and aristocratic families, in which the divine right of the husband to rule over his wife is among the established notions.

"They countenance each other in what the mass of the people, as well as the most enlightened class, have long abandoned as relics of barbarism.

"I agree with you entirely in your anticipation of the probable consequences of our increased intercourse with Europe.

"Your friend,

"C. FOLLEN."

In a letter, written shortly afterwards, to the same friend, he says;

"*October 11th*, 1839.

"My affairs in this village are essentially the same. The people have formed themselves into a society under the name of The Christian Association of East

Lexington. They have passed a vote to request me to continue with them, promising to increase my salary as soon as it is in their power.

"The new church will be ready for dedication probably about the middle, or the latter part, of November. It is to be a temple of freedom, and as such commends itself to you, and I trust it will be dedicated by you to its service. What a free and noble stand Mr. Pierpont has taken. Will you not take up the cause of the freedom of the Christian pulpit? I have just heard that the great Regulator has already fulfilled the prediction of General Jackson. Sympathizing sincerely with so many innocent individuals involved in the failure, I cannot but rejoice in the deliverance of the public from this ruinous delusion.

"Your friend,

"C. FOLLEN."

CHAPTER XXII.

Dr. Follen delivers his Lectures on Switzerland. — Letter to Dr. Channing. — Letters of Invitation to the Dedication of the Church in East Lexington. — Departure for New York. — Lectures on Schiller. — Illness of his Wife. — Letter to the Committee of the Parish in Lexington. — Dedication Sermon. — His Departure from New York.

Dr. Follen commenced his lectures on Switzerland in Boston, on the 5th of November; he had taken the usual means to secure public attention to them, and he felt assured, that he should meet with a tolerable degree of success. He had, as usual, put tickets in the stores of different booksellers, but, being in the country, he did not know how many had been sold. Lest more should be wanted, he intended to take another hundred with him the day he went to deliver the first lecture. While we were on the way to town, he remembered he had left them at home, and spoke of returning; but I thought it not worth while. He smiled, and said, "Perhaps you fear a repetition of the story of the study-table on New Year's day, but I do not; I am sure that I shall have a pretty good audience; I always have had."

Soon after our arrival in the city, he came to me

and told me, that there were not a dozen tickets taken, and that the expenses of the hall would not be half paid; he was serious, but calm as a summer morning, when he told me this. "What will you do?" said I. "I shall deliver my lecture this evening to whoever is there, and, before the second lecture, perhaps some arrangement may be made, though I know not what. But I am responsible for the hire of the hall; I shall have at any rate to pay for that."

He devoted himself the whole afternoon to the faithful study of his manuscript, with as much earnestness and care as if he had been going to deliver it to a thousand people; he hoped that some tickets might be sold at the door, and he resolved at any rate to fix his mind upon his present duty.

When we entered the large hall intended for a numerous assembly, we saw, gathered together around the desk of the speaker, perhaps a dozen people; by the time the lecture commenced, a few more hearers were added, so that the company perhaps amounted to nearly thirty. Most of these were our relations or intimate friends. Dr. Follen rose, and with a serenity in his countenance, that spoke of a peace that nothing could disturb, commenced his lecture. He addressed the little group before him as if he did not perceive, or did not heed, the almost endless rows of empty seats before and around him, and as if he did not feel the forlorn and chilling influence of the hollow sound, which the distant walls of the large, vacant hall gave to his full, though gentle voice.

The history of Switzerland, I doubt not, was forgotten in the history of the man, who stood before them. I do not believe there was one of his hearers whose heart did not throb with a new perception of moral excellence and dignity. With the same simple earnestness and hearty interest in his subject, which was characteristic of his usual manner of speaking in public, he delivered his beautiful lecture to this handful of friends. He had believed, that there were enough people in Boston interested in the history of Switzerland, to give him a tolerable audience; he was altogether unprepared for such a result. But no one saw him struggling to repress his feelings of disappointment; they saw that he did repress, did conquer them entirely. There was no apparent effort, no seeming; he *was* all that a truly good and great man could and ought to be upon such an occasion; a small one it may seem, and perhaps it really was so, but many a great man would have found it too much for him. A friend observed, on coming out of the lecture-room, that it was better than all lectures to see Dr. Follen.

As we went home that night to Lexington, a distance of more than eight miles, he simply said, "It is evident, that I am not the fashion in Boston." He uttered no complaint; there was the same serene composure in his manner, the same quiet, cheerful acquiescence in disappointment, when we were alone, as there had been in the lecture-room. "We must think," he said, "what is to be done; I wish I could get rid of the whole affair, and return to my Psychology."

The next day he wrote the following letter to his friend Dr. Channing, who had, by some accident, been prevented from being present at his lecture.

"*East Lexington, November 6th*, 1839.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"You may have heard of the small number of hearers I had for my first lecture, yesterday evening. I was prepared for the disappointment; and, if I had not been so, I hope I should have submitted with good humor. To judge from the number of those present, I do not think that the tickets sold would defray more than half the expenses. I do not know, however, how many were sold in the afternoon at the bookstores, and some friends thought there would be a larger number next time. If there should be enough barely to cover the expenses of the hall, advertisements, &c., which amount to one hundred and forty dollars, I am determined to go on and finish the course. But if I should find, next Tuesday, that the tickets sold do not cover the cost, I suppose it will not be thought unfair if I request the audience to release me from my obligation to finish the course, and allow me to return the money they have paid for the tickets, deducting only the expenses for the two evenings.

"I had been strongly encouraged to give this course and led to believe, that it would be popular. But I am aware of the obstacles arising from hard times, more attractive entertainments, &c. The subject is very interesting to me, particularly as the his-

tory of Switzerland is the best illustration and developement of the great social principles, that lie at the foundation of our institutions.

"Eliza received to-day a letter from Catherine Sedgwick, from Berne, full of interesting particulars of my sister's family, to whom I had given her a letter; and some descriptions of scenery, that reflect the glowing of the Alps.

"Your friend,
"C. FOLLEN."

Upon inquiry, Dr. Follen found, that he would, in any case, be held responsible for the hall, and that he could not, as he had hoped, exchange it for one less expensive in the same building. His lectures were all to be written; the labor of preparing one every week, in addition to his other occupations and duties, was very great; and the thought of making this effort, not only without the hope of profit, but with the certainty of involving himself in some pecuniary embarrassment, was, indeed, discouraging. It must also be remembered, that he had depended upon the proceeds of these lectures to make up for the deficiencies of his meagre salary. It was in this state of feeling, that we received the letter he alludes to in his to Dr. Channing. Miss Sedgwick, in describing the family of his brother-in-law to me, said, "There is first the sister of your dear husband, having his goodness in her face, and bearing a general but not a striking resemblance to him. She is hanging over a chair, her eyes filled with tears, asking questions of Karl

about you and Charley, and saying she is so homesick to see him, that she must go (if he will not come) to America with all her family to see him." After describing the rest of the family, she adds, "How I did long to see you and your husband and Charley, among friends so worthy of you, so suited to you! How I admired and loved your husband for sending out his affections upon us strangers, that would spontaneously have overflowed upon such kindred. How I wondered at his patience, and, forgive me, dear, his contentment. Certainly, if I had been in this land, I should have clung to it as an unweaned child clings to its mother's bosom."

I had never seen my husband so deeply affected by the remembrance of his family and early home, as he was at reading this letter, except when he received the news of the death of his father. His long-suppressed homesickness seemed to revive and overmaster him. He wept at the remembrance of his father-land, and the dear ones he had left there, when he found how truly they loved him still. After a while, he said, "We must go there; — we will go to Switzerland."

Our friends made great exertions to awaken the attention of the public to the lectures on Switzerland. When Dr. Follen heard of one who had taken four family tickets upon learning that the expenses of the lectures would not be paid, he wrote to him, that he did not wish him to take any tickets that he could not put to some use, and he resolved to meet the evil without making any further efforts at resistance. He

had sent some tickets to friends who could not afford to purchase them, and the next evening his audience was nearly doubled, but still was not large enough to defray all the expenses. "Of one thing I am certain," he said to me, "you will see that my lectures shall be as good as though all the world came to hear them." On one day only I saw him stop from his writing, and rest his head between his hands for a long time upon his paper. "What is the matter?" I asked. "I find it very hard to write with spirit under such circumstances," he replied. We always returned to Lexington on the evening of the lecture. It was a long way, the road was heavy, and the weather was cold; and it was dark and often very late when we got home. Usually he was so full of lively conversation, that it seemed neither long nor dull; but one night he was very silent. "Why," I asked, "are you so silent to-night?" "I do feel this disappointment," he replied; "it shows me how little I have to hope from public favor in Boston." "Perhaps," I said, "you have made a mistake in your subject. People now-a-days prefer speculations to facts; let us consider this merely as a mode, not very expensive, of seeing our friends once a week; it is not, after all, a costly pleasure. Your history of Switzerland will be written, and will be a valuable possession." "That is right," he replied; "it shall be so; henceforward we will look at it only as a pleasant visit to our friends; it is a good thing for me to have this course of lectures written, they will yet be of use to me, and it is pleasant to see our friends once a week." After

wards he spoke of various subjects for lectures, and finally resolved to prepare a course on Æsthetics. This, he said, was a subject to which he had given his mind much in early life, and he had then made extracts and notes from valuable works, that would be important to him. It was his intention, while in Switzerland, to consult his eldest brother, and obtain aid from him for this purpose. "I think," he said, "I could write a course of lectures upon this subject, that might be worth hearing, and the Boston people, perhaps, would be interested in it; I wish I had thought of it before." So ended our drive home, the only time when he seemed dispirited at his failure.

One day when he was, as I thought, giving his whole mind to his lecture, I noticed him writing in a book in which he kept a sort of diary. "What are you doing?" I asked. "Writing something that has just come into my mind for my 'Psychology.' I never forget that. As soon as I return from New York, I shall give my whole attention to it, and I hope to finish it this winter." This was one of his dearest hopes.

His disappointment was no more spoken of. His pecuniary loss was small. Before the course was finished, he received two invitations to deliver it at different country lyceums. "After all," he said, "my lectures will be profitable." No one, who had seen him in his most private hours, would have known, except in the instances I have mentioned, that he had suffered any thing from this entire failure of hopes, which he had cherished through the whole

summer, and upon the success of which, much of the personal comfort of himself and his family depended. There were many little indulgences that we had promised ourselves from the proceeds of the lectures, which we had to forego on account of our very narrow income; but they were cheerfully resigned, and soon forgotten. Such privations for himself, never caused him a thought of pain; but, when he could not give every thing desirable to those he loved, he really suffered; but, even that, he had learned to bear with the utmost sweetness. Had any one seen him at this time accompanying his little boy daily to school, they would not have doubted whether he were a happy man. The school was two miles off, and the weather at times very cold, and, in order to be there in season, the child had to set off very early. His father would often say on his return, "I know not what the villagers will think of me; for I play like a boy with Charles all the way; I allow him to push me about and do as he will with me, because it makes him laugh, and keeps up his spirits, and prevents his taking cold." He did, indeed, enjoy his morning sport as much as Charles did, and allowed no engagement ever so pressing to interfere with it.

In the following postscript to a letter to Harriet Martineau, he makes no mention of his disappointment with regard to his lectures. They were his last words to this dear friend.

"*East Lexington, December 9th*, 1839.

"My dear Friend,

"I cannot let this letter go without an autograph of my affection. As I am just finishing my last lecture on Switzerland, which I am to deliver this evening, I can do no more than this. Thank you for the soothing and inspiring influence of your cheerful fortitude.

"Yours ever truly,

"C. Follen."

It was a great disappointment to Dr. Follen to find that the church would not be finished in time to be dedicated before he went to New York; it was, therefore, necessary to wait till his return, as his engagement there could not be postponed. But, in order to meet the wishes of the people, who were impatient to enter their new church, he fixed as early a period as possible, after the conclusion of his lectures in New York.

Upon the question as to who should be invited to assist at the dedication of the house, after much discussion among the committee of arrangements, of which Dr. Follen was one, it was finally determined by them to leave it entirely to him. The purpose of his heart had been, from the first, as he said in his letter to Dr. Channing, that the church should be a truly free church, that all who wished to join them should be admitted to it; the honest skeptic, who came asking what was truth, and the narrow bigot, who believed he had attained to all religious knowledge, would have both received his welcome. The

desire to come to a church dedicated to religious worship, and to an enlarged Christian philanthropy, would have been a sufficient title to admission. Among those whom he requested to assist at the dedication of his church, were a Baptist, a Methodist, and a Universalist clergyman ; among the Unitarians were the adherents of the old school, and the teachers of the new ; and he looked forward with great pleasure to the friendly meeting of these different elements of the Christian church, upon the common ground of the recognition of the bond of human brotherhood, and of the same immortal destiny.

The time arrived for our departure for New York. Dr. Follen had, in consequence of many pressing engagements, left himself too little time to write these letters of invitation. We were to start for New York the next day, and most of them were still to be written and copied, for he determined to take copies of them all. It was evening, and he had many other things to do, and he had just said, "I must be industrious, and I trust I shall have no interruption, or I shall not accomplish my work," when a young man entered, who had walked up from Cambridge on purpose to see him. He turned from his own affairs, and devoted himself to his entertainment, as if he had no other occupation, and no other thought in his mind, than to make him enjoy himself. After he left us, Dr. Follen said, "That visit has cost me more than I can tell ; but I am glad to have contributed something to that young man's pleasure ; I hope he had a pleasant visit." This was his last act of hospitality.

The letters of invitation show his views with regard to the church. I give but one, as the others were nearly in the same words, and altogether in the same spirit.

"*East Lexington, December 20th*, 1839.

"DEAR SIR,

"The religious society in this village, of which I am the minister, have erected a church, which is to be dedicated on the fifteenth of next month. The society are agreed, that they will recognise as fellow-Christians, all those, of whatever denomination, who profess to be Christians, and whose lives attest the sincerity of their profession.

"They are desirous that the dedication of this church should be an expression of the principles of Christian freedom and universal brotherhood; and the committee appointed to make preparations for the solemnities of the occasion, have requested me, according to my discretion, to ask the aid of a number of clergymen, who recognise the same principles of religious freedom and philanthropy, and who are willing to exchange with the minister of this society.

"I am persuaded, that I shall carry into effect the views of the society, as well as my own, most fully, by addressing invitations not only to some of those clergymen who agree with me on certain points of controversial theology, but to ministers of different denominations, who are disposed to lay aside their sectarian predilections, and meet as fellow-laborers in the cause of moral and religious progress.

"I am not personally acquainted with you, dear Sir; but from the opinion of some friends on whose judgment I rely, I feel myself justified in asking you, if your principles of Christian fellowship agree with those of the society with whom I am connected, to take a part in the exercises of the dedication of their church, either by offering a prayer or reading a hymn.

"Will you please to let me have an answer as soon as convenient, and direct it to the care of Mr. Samuel Cabot, Boston.

"Yours respectfully,

"C. FOLLEN.

"REV. MR. SKINNER."

Dr. Follen had fixed upon Monday, the 23d of December, for his departure. He performed, in the morning, the marriage service for a young couple in his society, who were to accompany us on our journey to New York. Nothing could exceed the affectionate fervor of his manner, and of his words, upon this occasion; he poured forth his soul with a sublime and touching pathos such as I had never before heard, even from him. I asked him, after the ceremony was over, if he knew how well he had spoken. He was quite unconscious of it. "I know not," he replied, "a word of what I have said. Did I do well?" He wist not that his face shone. He dwelt most earnestly and particularly, in his exhortation, upon the importance of truth, transparent truth, in this intimate and holy union; he prayed that they who were forming it might remember, that they were accountable, as far

as their efforts could reach, for each other's virtue, as well as for each other's happiness; that it depended upon themselves whether the tie they now formed should be merely temporal and earthly, or whether it should be a spiritual union for all eternity.

The weather was so stormy, that we could not start that day; the next we decided against, because it was the day that the steamboat *Lexington* went, and we then considered her an unsafe boat; so that we did not leave till Wednesday, which was Christmas day. This day we had hoped to pass with our friends in New York. The weather was fine, and we set off in excellent spirits. Our house had been very comfortably fitted up for the winter; the evening before we left it, my husband said, as he was walking backwards and forwards in our pleasant parlour, "Let us meet with whatever pleasures we may in New York, shall we not rejoice to get back to our own home?" While we were waiting in Boston for the hour when the cars should start, Dr. Follen visited Mr. Garrison, and urged him to gratify a few friends in Lexington, who wished him to lecture there. Some of our friends disliked our travelling in winter, and were depressed at our leaving them; but we had no fears, and were already anticipating our happy return. One of the last things that my husband said to my sister was, "If you hear that any thing has happened to the *Lexington*, you may be sure that we are not in her."

When we arrived at Stonington, we found, that, although another boat was advertised, and tickets

given out for her, it was the *Lexington* that was going. Charles started back, and said, "Don't let us go, let us stay here;" but it was impossible, and with real fear and trembling we entered. Some one on board the boat said, that she had been thoroughly repaired, and was now a perfectly safe boat, and that there was nothing to fear. No one told us, that she had been repeatedly on fire. We had a good passage, and without any disturbance arrived safe at New York. Our friends gave us the kindest welcome, and never did happier hearts beat than ours. The next day Dr. Follen was to commence his course of lectures. The first lecture required much preparation, as it was to give a general view of German literature, previous to his account of Schiller. In his travelling-bag was a book, which was essential to him for the preparation of his lecture, and just after we arrived we found it was missing. Instead of immediately devoting himself to his lecture, Dr. Follen had to spend all his time in efforts to recover the bag, and, finally, to relinquish all hope of obtaining it in season for his lecture. The next morning he sat down to his work, troubled and perplexed how to proceed, and fearing that he should fail in consequence of his loss; in addition to this, it began to storm, and he feared he should have no audience on account of the weather. His patience and sweetness, however, did not fail. "It does seem," he said calmly, "as if all things went against me." But he spoke as if he was merely mentioning a fact; not a fretful word passed his lips. His bag, that had been advertised, was brought in just after

wards, and his lecture was prepared in season. He went in the storm, and, as he anticipated, there was a very small audience, but the directors immediately determined to request him to postpone his lecture till the next Monday, and he returned with his mind at ease, for he had felt far more anxiety upon the subject here than he did in Boston, inasmuch as he would have suffered more at causing others to lose money than at losing it himself. Every one assured him, that but for the bad weather the hall would have been full. Every thing now seemed happy and prosperous; friends came to welcome us, and we employed ourselves in laying out our time so as to secure the greatest amount of enjoyment. "We have come to be merry;" said Dr. Follen, "we are like children out of school, and have come to pass our holydays with you, and mean to get all the pleasure we can."

Mr. and Mrs. Spring, at whose house we were, invited all our friends to come the next evening to bid us welcome to New York. All looked bright and promising. But the next morning the scene was changed. I was seized with a very severe illness, and, when our friends came to see us in the evening, I was in bed, suffering excruciating pain. I insisted upon Dr. Follen's remaining down stairs to see our friends, but he had the heavy weight at his heart of knowing that I was suffering severely, and was perhaps wanting his aid. My illness increased to an alarming extent, and from this time, for some days, his anxiety was great. All the time, day and night, he was employed in nursing me, except what was barely necessary to prepare

for and deliver his lectures. He saw no one, he did nothing but minister to my wants, and try if he could relieve, or at least help me to bear, my pain. His lectures were written, so that all that was necessary was to read his manuscript very carefully before he delivered them; this he did by my bedside, and, the moment the lecture was over, he was there again. He got very little sleep, but he would not leave me. His lectures were very successful; every evening the audience was larger than the last. He said, as he returned the first evening, "I know you are not so ill that you will not rejoice to hear of my success. I am entirely satisfied with my audience. If you were well, how pleasant every thing would be!"

He must have suffered great fatigue, but he would not acknowledge it. One night, it was New Year's eve, he went out twice in the night for the physician; the weather was severe, and the streets were full of revellers, making frightful noises;—I feared almost for his life. Next to our friend's house was a large dancing hall, in which there were loud music and dancing all night; the lights in my sick room attracted the attention of some rioters in the street; they stopped under the window and screamed, "Happy New Year!" with what seemed to me the voices of fiends, the sound was so frightful. Such a "happy New Year," I said, sounds ominous of evil. In the midst of this confusion and noise, while my soul was disturbed with bodily and mental suffering, he entered, calm and serene as ever, looking as if none of the elements of evil had power over him. The cold had

not chilled him, the tumult had not disturbed him, fatigue and anxiety had not subdued him, love and peace beamed from his hope-inspiring eye. He had not found the physician, and this was all that troubled him.

New Year's day came, and, as usual in New York, there was all day a succession of visiters to the lady of the house; but, although many came, whom my husband would have liked to see, and I urged him to leave me, he passed the day, as he had the night, in efforts to relieve my sufferings, or, by his inspiring presence, to enable me to bear them. Once only he left me, it was to get a New Year's gift for his boy. He brought him home a beautiful little box. "I knew," he said, 'that you would wish Charles to have something pretty for New Year's day." He then took out an inkstand made of the wood of the cocoa-nut tree. "I wanted an inkstand, while I am here, all to myself," he said, "and see how pretty this is. But I have no New Year's gift for you; it is a shame." I replied, that the inkstand should be my New Year's gift, since, when we returned, he would not want it, as he would have his own. This pleased him much, and he promised to give it to me. Our friend, Mrs. Spring, thought it pretty, and the next time he went out he got one for her. This anecdote is, indeed, a trifle, but it shows his constant attention to all the minor pleasures of life, his ever active perception and love of beauty, even in trifles, under all circumstances, and at times when most people would be so much absorbed in more important interests, to

be able to think of such things. But it was not so with him. He ever saw the little in the great, and the great in the little. He thought no duty too small, and none too arduous.

I soon began to recover, but it was evident I should not be able to return to Lexington by the 15th, the time appointed for the dedication. Dr. Follen therefore determined to write to the committee, stating the case, and requesting them to postpone the dedication for one week, when he hoped I might be able to accompany him.

The following passages from his letters to my sister during my illness, will have a melancholy interest.

"*December* 31*st*. Eliza's illness makes it necessary to stay a week or two longer in New York. I shall write to the Lexington people to-morrow, to beg them to postpone the dedication. My lecture was well attended."

"*January* 2*d*, 1840. I shall write to the Lexington people to-morrow, appointing January 22d, instead of the 15th, for the dedication. If Eliza should then not be strong enough to undertake the journey, I shall return, and leave her at Chancellor M'Coun's."

"*January* 4*th*. I have written to Lexington, as I told you; I shall have an answer, I hope, in a few days. My lectures are quite popular. We have not received a letter since I wrote of Eliza's illness Your last was your hearty and most welcome wish of a happy New Year. It came at a time of great

anxiety with regard to the future, when wishes were precious, as the causes of hope were few. Eliza will add a line, and this will be better than all I can say."

"*January 7th.* Last night I had the largest audience for my lecture. I lecture for one hour and a half, and my course is quite popular. I have hardly seen anybody, but found my best happiness in the sick chamber. But I shall go out to-morrow, and return some of the many visits we have received.

"Our best love to you all.

"Yours ever,

"C. FOLLEN."

I give also a copy of his letter to the committee, requesting a postponement of the dedication.

"*New York, January 3d*, 1840.

"DEAR SIR,

"We arrived here on Friday the 26th, after a pleasant journey. On Friday Mrs. Follen was taken ill, and her sickness grew more and more alarming. It is only since yesterday that her physician has pronounced her out of danger; but it will take her a fortnight, at least, before she may venture to return.

"Under these circumstances I should be very glad if our friends at East Lexington would consent to put off the dedication one week, to Wednesday, the 22d of this month. It will not be in my power to return with Mrs. Follen by the 15th; but if our friends should think it decidedly for the interest of our church, that the dedication should not be delayed,

I will return alone. Will you be so kind as to lay this matter before the committee, consisting of Deacon D. Wellington, Mr. J. Brown, Mr. B. Smith, and Mr. Morell, who were charged, together with myself, to provide for the services of the dedication. If you should be able to see them on the day on which you receive this letter, and let me know their decision by return of mail, I should be obliged to you. I, of course, hold myself bound to return before the 15th, if they should think it best to abide by our former decision.

"I must close, in order to be in time for the mail. I shall bring the printed bills for the dedication with me. Please to remember me kindly to Mrs. Adams, and all our friends at East Lexington.

"Your friend,

"C. FOLLEN.

"Please to let Mrs. N—— know that Mrs. Follen is past all danger, and getting well." *

Dr. Follen did not, as was his usual custom, show me the letter he wrote to the committee of his church at Lexington; but he told me what he had said to them. I exclaimed, with a pang of disappointment, "I am very sorry you left it for them to decide; they may think more of their own wishes than of yours."

"O no," he replied; "they will, I know, grant my request, and then it will be so much more agreeable to me to remain than if I decided the matter in

* Mrs. N—— was our cook, for whom he had a great regard

myself. Don't you be troubled; if you are not much better I shall not go at any rate; and I am sure they will put off the Dedication for a week, for they will want you to be there." "I wish you would write again," said I, "and tell them you cannot come at that time." He thought it best not to do so. The friends from Lexington, who came with us, called to see us before their return. I urged him to send word by them, that he should positively not be there on the 15th, but he still rested it upon the same condition, though he expressed to them his earnest hope that they would grant his request. "I know they will," was his constant answer. One of the objects of the visits of these friends, was to ask his opinion of the safety of the *Lexington*. He told them he had inquired, and was informed it was a perfectly safe boat, and he should not hesitate to go in it himself.

Alas, my foreboding heart! From this moment I was miserable for fear that they would not grant his request. But he, O how happy he was! He saw me getting stronger every day, his lectures gave great pleasure, he attributed my low spirits to the effects of disease, and he was as gay and as happy as a child.

I was soon so far recovered, that it was safe for me to be removed to Chancellor M'Coun's, where we had promised to pass part of our time in New York. We went there on the 9th of January. I was still very weak, and the effort was difficult; but the change did me good, and all anxiety about me was superfluous. Dr. Follen was now able to see

his friends with a free mind and a light and happy heart. There was an almost irrepressible joy in his every tone and motion. The next day, Friday, the 10th, he was to deliver his last lecture. It was on "William Tell." As he was reading it, he spoke feelingly of the power this play had over him. "I hope," he said, "that I shall be able to do justice to it, but it always overmasters me. I have to harden my feelings beforehand, in order to be able to read it; it almost chokes me, some part of it. I want every thing quiet while I prepare myself for this evening. In this my last lecture, I wish to say a few words to the young men, that they will remember. I want to wake in them some noble thoughts and purposes, that shall not pass away." While he was speaking, a letter from Lexington was handed to him, saying, that for various reasons the committee could not accede to his wishes, and that they thought the interests of the society required that the church should be dedicated on the day already appointed. As Dr. Follen read the letter the blood rushed violently to his face, so as I had scarcely ever seen it. "I did not expect this," he said; "I thought they would gladly grant my request. I thought they would not wish the house dedicated till you could come."

A prophetic pang of agony entered my heart as I heard the contents of the letter. I groaned, and almost fell to the ground; and I kept crying out, "Don't go! don't go! It is not right that you should go." He waited till I was silent, and then said, "Eliza, this is not you. You are not in your right

mind. I have promised to go if they insist upon it. Would you have me break my word? You are out of all danger; I leave you with kind friends; you will soon be well. It is only my personal inconvenience and discomfort; what is it after all? I shall soon be back again." I could not be comforted. "It is," I said, "a wanton waste of your time, your strength, your comfort." "I know it, and I am deeply disappointed; but I must do my duty to them, although they have disregarded my wishes. I only wish I had not received the letter till I had delivered my lecture." He said no more, but returned to his manuscript, which he had been reading. I was silent. Presently he came to me, and said, "Help me, Eliza, to bear this." I promised him I would. I saw that he considered it an unquestioned duty, and I no longer opposed his determination to go. He spoke no more, at this time, of the letter, or of his disappointment, but gave his whole mind to his present duty. A few moments afterward, he told me of his plan with regard to the conclusion of his lecture; he said, he should not write it, he would rather trust to the excitement of the moment. "I shall conclude," said he, "with the advice of the Marquis of Posa to Carlos." He returned home full of peace and joy. He said to me, with more than his usual animation, "I have satisfied myself; I succeeded in casting away all my selfish cares, and I really hope that I have said some things to the young men that they will not forget. What a pleasure this course of lectures has been to me; and, now that

you are getting well, all would be so happy if the people in Lexington had granted my request, or if I were only satisfied with the reasons they give for not doing so; if it were quite right I should go, I should think nothing of the sacrifice. But my word must be kept, and we must submit. Now for my dedication sermon; I must talk it out to you first. Let us speak no more of this letter." I promised to be silent, and I was so. I saw that it was the same spirit that had actuated his whole life, which influenced him then, — the spirit of self-sacrifice. He held no parley with his own wishes, he made no calculations of his own interests, when what he considered right was in question.

It seems, indeed, a small thing, in itself, his submission to the decision of the people of Lexington; but the same divine forgetfulness of self, and devotion to his fellow-men, inspired him then, which had banished him from his father-land, which had kept him a poor man in this country, and which would, had there been a just call for it, have led him as calmly and as firmly to a voluntary sacrifice of his life.

The next day was Saturday; he must go on Monday; not a word of his dedication sermon was written; he had lectured three times a week during his stay in New York; he had gone through incredible fatigue in his care of me; and now he had to devote every moment of his remaining time to writing the sermon. He made no complaint, he wasted no time in useless regrets, he addressed himself to his work with

an energy as fresh as though he had been only resting from labor; he put aside all that would interfere with his present duty, and sat down to his task with a face beaming with hope and cheerful courage. He found that all our friends in New York severely censured the people of Lexington for their disregard of his comfort and wishes, in obliging him to make two journeys in mid-winter, for the sake of dedicating their church a week sooner. But he tried to excuse them, saying, they thought that the sale of their pews might be affected by it, and they were poor; and, when some persons told him he ought not to go, they felt rebuked by his simple and earnest declaration, that no fault in others exonerated him from the faithful performance of his duty; they depended on his promise, and he must fulfil it. He had intended to preach for Mr. Holland, in Brooklyn, but he thought it his duty to employ the Sunday in preparing his sermon. We had many friends, who came up into my chamber, where he was writing, but he said it did not disturb him; he looked, as he sat at his writing-table, with his mind full of his subject, as if nothing on this earth could disturb him, and it was so. "His heart was fixed."

Occasionally, when he was wearied with writing, he would talk with me of his plans for the coming spring. He was decided to go to Europe. His soul was full of the thought of a visit to Switzerland, and he began to long, with a homesick heart, to see his family once more. My depression at his leaving me was unconquerable, but I did not speak of it; for I had

promised him to help him bear his trial, and I kept my word. It was a great disappointment to him; but I saw that he considered it an unquestionable duty, and I subdued myself to silence. He perceived what I felt, and he tried to raise my spirits by talking of Switzerland, and the glorious things in Europe, which he should show me. "Think," said he, "how we shall enjoy seeing the Alps together." He tried to persuade himself, that it was better that he should go and dedicate the church first, and then return, because it would allow us more time to remain in New York. He had promised to deliver a lecture on Göthe's "Faust," when he returned; and he wanted much time for the preparation of this. It had always been his wish to give his views fully upon the character of Göthe and of his writings. He had felt bound, in one or two instances, to give his testimony to the heartless licentiousness of his conduct in some particulars, which he said he knew from unquestioned authority. His own heart turned away instinctively from a man who had shown no sympathy with the struggles for freedom, either in his own, or other lands; from one, whom he thought deficient in a true moral enthusiasm. Still, he saw and felt Göthe's genius, he acknowledged his great intellect, and he honored his faithful industry and devotion to literary pursuits to the last moment of his life. He would have put his best efforts into his criticism of "Faust," and have been just to the great powers, as well as the great faults, of this remarkable man. One of his last acts was to ask a friend to engage the hall for him to

deliver his lecture in, when he should return from Lexington. "After all," said he, "we shall not be disappointed in the pleasure we expected from our visit to New York. Dr. V—— says your health will be better than it has been for years; my lectures have been very successful; let us not consider it an evil that I have to go to Lexington." "I cannot," said I, "but view it so; it is a wanton waste of your strength and comfort." "It is true, and yet I am not so much displeased at that, as that the people are willing to have the dedication without you, who have labored for them all summer as truly and as faithfully as I have." "That," said I, "is an insignificant thing; but your wishes and your rights should have been held sacred." I have unwillingly mentioned this expression of his feelings; but it is an illustration of his character, thus thinking, to the very last, in all things, more of others than of himself, and therefore I have felt bound to give it.

The act of the committee of the church at Lexington should be judged exactly as if no such irreparable evil had been its result. So he himself would have judged, who was the victim of their error; for his benevolence was, to use his own words, but an "enlarged sense of justice." The act was unjust, it was unkind, but not intentionally so; they would rather their church should have been burned to the ground, than that the slightest harm should have come to him, whom they loved and honored. But they thought only of themselves, of their own wishes, and what they supposed would be their own interests. Who can

ever compute the extent of the evil effects of a single selfish act?

On the morning of the 13th Dr. Follen rose very early, that he might have time to finish his sermon. At breakfast he talked much to our friends of his intended visit to Switzerland. He described to them the glowing of the Alps, the gradual progress of the light from the far distant heights to the nearer ones, and finally to the valleys. He compared it to the light of history, faint and dubious upon the most distant eminences, and growing brighter and clearer as it approached nearer, till its broad beams were all around us. I was not present, for I was still too ill to breakfast with the family, but my friends repeated the conversation to me; he had often described this scene to me, and spoke of our seeing it together. When he came up stairs, he said, I have been talking of Switzerland, where we shall be next summer; he spoke again of the pleasure his course of lectures in New York had given him. He said, that his experience in Boston had produced a degree of apprehension with regard to his success anywhere, so that his reception in New York had been very gratifying to him; he spoke of his pleasure at the cordial and delicately kind treatment he had received from the young men. They had, as was their custom in the case of other lecturers, sent a carriage to take him to and from the hall, and requested him to give tickets to all his friends; but, when he had removed from Mr. Spring's to Mr. M'Coun's, they had asked him if he would not still like to send the carriage for those

friends whom he had taken with him while he was at their house. Such a little delicate attention as this went to his heart; he spoke of it repeatedly. He took out of his pocket the check for three hundred dollars, which they had sent him, and showing it to me, he said, "Do you know I never took so much pleasure from three hundred dollars in my life? Come, I want you to enjoy it too; you don't seem as pleased with it as you ought to be." "I can only think," I replied, "that you are going away."

He had promised not to go if the weather was bad; the morning was cloudy, but alas, the clouds passed away, and the weather became mild and pleasant. He had satisfied his mind from inquiry, that the *Lexington* was a safe boat; had he known that she had been often on fire, nothing would have tempted him to go in her. He loved life; he thought it wrong to put it to any unnecessary hazard. The merit of the martyr, he often said, consisted in deliberately giving up what was greatly valuable, and what he highly prized, for what he considered more precious. He attached great importance to the efforts of every individual man in a good cause. When he heard any one say, "Providence will take care of these things, men can do nothing," he would reply, "Providence commands *us* to do the work; you, and I, and others, are to do it." He had grown more and more careful of life; he would not go swimming alone; there were many feats in climbing, which he used to perform, but which, now that he was a husband and father, he said he should never do again. There were many

things he hoped to accomplish in life, and he would often say, "I hope to live to write my views fully upon Religion and the Church, and my precious 'Psychology.'" When I spoke sometimes of death, he would answer, "I am not going to die, I am going to live; life is before us, not death; life, never-ending life; what we call death, is only one of the incidents of life. Death is the final revelation and confirmation of immortality; without the necessity of death, there would be no possibility for the mind to rise above it in this life, and to render itself worthy of immortality; death is not considered a transition to another life in Scripture; eternal life has begun for us as soon as we are conscious of it; come, let us speak of life, and what we shall do together in it." When I would sometimes say sportively to a friend, on Dr. Follen's making a mistake about the time, "He lives in eternity, he knows nothing of time," he would reply, "Very true, and so do we all. 'Remember thou shalt die,' was the celebrated apothegm of Grecian wisdom, but the watchword of Christianity is 'Remember thou shalt live for ever.' The fear of death is but the shadow of the body, which shadow must vanish, as the sun of immortality rises in the zenith of the mind." These were his own words, and with him not mere words; they were expressions of the greatest realities of which he was conscious. Yet he still considered this life a great blessing, and the sudden and violent loss of it a real calamity. Once, when speaking of a family, a part of which had been burned to death, he said, "It kindles my deepest

compassion, that the happiness of human beings should be turned into the extreme of human suffering, not by the free devotion of martyrdom, not by their own guilt or imprudence, not even by the delusion or cruelty of their fellow-beings, but by the accidental (I was tempted to say atheistical) force of an element."

After breakfast, the day he left me, I said, "I have been thinking, that it would be best for you to take Charles with you, and let him be at his uncle's in Boston, till we return; his aunt can attend to his lessons, which I cannot do here, and he is spending too much idle time." He agreed with me, and was much pleased with the plan, and we had more than half decided upon his going. "Shall you be anxious about him?" he asked. "Yes, I shall; but, if it is best he should go, never mind that." "I will not take him," said he, very positively, and went to his writing.

During the morning, one or two friends called to see him. Although his time was so short, and he was so anxious to finish his sermon, he gave his mind to them with the same freedom and heartiness, the same sweetness and benevolence, as he would if he had been at leisure. "I shall finish it in the boat," said he. He left off writing in time to read to me what he had written. "I must know how you like what I have written," said he; "I hope to do something upon this occasion for religious freedom."

He left on his writing-table the few notes he had made before writing his sermon. I give these exactly as I found them, with my recollections of what he said to me on the subject.

"'Let there be light and there was light.'"

"The words of the Creator, 'Let there be light,' were the dedication of the Universal Temple.

"Human nature is a temple within the temple. The object of the Christian church is to give light to the world.

"The purpose of the Christian minister is to give light to his people.

"The duty of every individual is to acquire and to communicate light.

"The principle of freedom. Of an enlarged liberality. God has made us free. Light and freedom are the true glory and purpose of a truly Christian church. Every one must seek for light in his own mind. Every human being must be the creator of his own moral being by resolute self-exertion."

After he had read to me what he had written from these notes, he said, "I shall explain to the people the meaning and use of symbols in general, and then explain the meaning of those carved on the pulpit." These were of his own designing, and were a candlestick, a communion cup, a crown of thorns, a wreath of stars, and, in the centre, a cross. "I shall not write this part of my sermon," said he, "but I will tell you what I shall say, and that will make it easier when I speak to the people. I shall tell them, that the candlestick is a symbol of the light which should emanate from the Christian pulpit, and from the life of every individual Christian. The crown of thorns is a representation of the trials and sufferings which the faithful Christian has to endure for conscience' sake.

The cup signifies that spiritual communion, which we should share with all our brethren of mankind, and that readiness to drink the bitter cup of suffering for their sake, and for conscience' sake, which He manifested, who offered it to his disciples before he was betrayed. The cross is a type of Him who gave his life for us all, and whose example we must stand ready to follow, even though it lead to death. The circle of stars represents the wreath of eternal glory and happiness, which awaits the faithful soul in the presence of God."

These were his words; the impression was so deep upon my mind, that I am sure I cannot have deviated far from them. He observed, that I looked sad and did not speak. "Do you like it?" he asked. "O very much," said I; "but I was thinking of your leaving us, and wishing that I were to be there to hear you." "Have you no criticisms to make?" "None," I replied. He then went out to engage his passage; when he returned, he brought me an iron clasp, which he had purchased to fasten a fur tippet, that he wore round his neck. He showed it to me; it was two hands clasped together. "I have taken pains," said he, "to choose a pretty one; I selected it from a large number; see how pretty the device is, and how well it is wrought; come, you must be pleased with it. As you are not well, let me ask Miss M—— to sew it on." "O no," I replied; "I had rather do it." I sewed it on for him. "I should go so much more willingly," he said, "if I thought it reasonable in the people to insist upon it;

and I cannot excuse them for being willing to have the church dedicated without you there to witness it. As soon as the service is over, I shall set off on my return ; and, unless I think it will give the people pain, I shall not stop even for their dinner ; I shall have no heart for it. With a swift horse, I can get to Boston in time for the cars of that day, and be soon on my way to you again."

He arranged his papers against his return. He was going to take his lectures on German literature with him, but I urged him to leave them with me, to be put in my trunk, where they would be kept in better order. He made a little memorandum of what he had to do when he returned. One article was to get the "Selections from Fenelon" reprinted ; the next, to inquire about a poor German, who was an exile, and a sufferer for freedom's sake. The last was to get a New Year's gift for a poor little girl, whom we had taken to live with us. Just as I left the door at Lexington, I told this child, that if she was a good girl, I would bring her a New Year's gift from New York. Dr. Follen overheard me ; I never spoke of it to him. My illness and anxiety had put it out of my head, but he remembered it. As he put his sermon in his pocket, he said, "I shall not go to bed, but devote the night to my sermon ; I want to make something of it that is worth hearing." He gave Charles some money, and told him to go presently and get some grapes for me at a shop where he had found some very fine ones. "They are good for your mother," he said, "and you must keep her supplied till my

return." "Be of good courage till you see me again," he said to me as he took leave of me. "Be a good boy and obey your mother till I come back again," were his words to Charles, as he took him in his arms, and kissed him. And he left us.

It was on the 13th of January, 1840, that Dr. Follen left New York for Boston, in the steam-boat *Lexington*. The terrible story of her destruction is known to every one, and that he was one of the sufferers.

It was only for the sake of my child, that I first thought of writing the history of his father's life, feeling the conviction, that it would be the best blessing I could confer upon him; but my friends convinced me, that I ought to have a wider aim and a higher purpose than this, and that many hearts might be elevated, many souls quickened and blessed, by the contemplation of the life and character of such a being.

I may say with truth, and in his own words, "I have wished to perform this duty in his spirit, not attempting to present what my own mind might invent, or my personal feelings dictate, but, from such records as I have, to give the simple story of his life, which is his best eulogy."

I feel an unutterable shrinking from thus removing the veil of privacy from all that is most dear and holy in my own existence; but by no other means could the beautiful image of his life and character be given.

No one knew him as I did. Therefore, with an unhesitating faith and a cheerful courage, I commit this inadequate record of my husband's life to the public, remembering, that the weak feeling which makes this act a sort of self-crucifixion, will pass away, and that, while the hand that drew it will be forgotten, this faithful picture of human excellence will live for ever in the minds of many.

The effort to suppress the anguish of soul, which would unfit me for my sacred task, has contributed much towards the fulfilment of his parting charge to me, to "be of good courage" till we meet again.

E. L. F.

Brookline, November 17th, 1841.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

POEMS.

DAS GROSSE LIED.

VORWORT.

Horcht auf, ihr Fürsten! Du Volk, horch auf!
Freiheit und Rach' in vollem Lauf,
Gottes Wetter ziehen blutig herauf!
Auf, dass in Weltbrands Stunden
Ihr nicht schlafend werdet gefunden!
Reiss' aus dem Schlummer dich, träges Gewürme
Am Himmel, shau auf, in Gewitterspracht
Hell aufgegangen dein Todesgestirne!
Es erwacht,
Es erwacht,
Tief aus der sonnenschwangern Nacht
In blutflammender Morgenwonne,
Der Sonnen Sonne,
Die Volkesmacht!
Spruch des Herrn, du bist gesprochen,
Volksblut, Freiheitsblut, du wirst gerochen,
Götzendämmrung, du bist angebrochen.

MOTTO.

Wenn Blumen sengt und Eichen
Der wüste Sonnenbrand,
Zum Schattenheer das Volk wird,
Zum Menschheitsgrab das Land,
Wenn, gleich dem Alp, das Land drückt
Die Qualmmacht trüb und bang,

Kein Vöglein mehr darf singen
Des Herzens freien Sang,
Wenn Ströme Sümpfe werden,
Sich Bach und Born verpesten,
Dass lust'ge Fische sterben,
Und Kröt und Molch sich mästen:
Dann müssen Blitze leuchten,
Zornschwere Wetter krachen,
Um Menschen aus den Schatten,
Um Tag aus Nacht zu machen!

STIMMEN AUS DEM VOLKE.

Ein Alter sang aus tiefster Brust,
In ihm war todt für hier der Hoffnung Lust,
Er sang zur allerletzten Reise
Sich selber seine Grabesweise.
Langsam und schwer hub also an der Greise:
"Wenn Trug, Gewalt, Zwingherrschaft, Pfaffenthum,
Des Lastergifts allmähl'ge Unterhöhlung,
Das wohlgefeite
Das gottgeweihte
Erzhaus der Menschheit, sein Urheiligthum,
Die Volksfreiheit zertrümmert;
Wenn du, mein wundes Vaterland, verkümmert;
Dann sei mein Blut noch deine letzte Oelung.
O Freiheit, Maienwonne,
Braut meiner Seele, meiner Sonnen Sonne,
Wenn du von diesem Eiland
Des Weltenmeers
Entschwebst zum Weltenheiland!
Freiheit du erstes Lächeln meines Mundes,
Mein Urbild und mein erst Gebet,
Das noch in meinem Herzen flammend steht,
In deiner Kraft erfliegt die Deutsche Jugend
Die Sternenhöh' urdeutscher Heldentugend,
Dich weiht als geistig Bannerkreuz des Bundes
Gott, der den Grund sieht unsres Herzensgrundes.

Ja wenn des Lebens erste Saamenkörner
Erblüht, erstorben sind zu neuem Saamen,
Dann greif ich freudig in den Kranz der Dörner,
Hell klingen mir die ewgen Siegeshörner,
Und Freiheit, Freiheit ist mein Amen, Amen!"

Doch es sungen
Die Jungen
Frisch, fröhlich und frei,
Die muthigen Söhne der Turnerei;
Sternaugen funkeln, Schwerdter sind blos,
Laut schallet der Freiheit Trompetenstoss.

Schmettr' heraus
Aus der Brust
Jugendbraus,
Schwerdtsgesaus,
Freiheitslust.

Herz und Hirn,
Brich mit Macht
Brust und Stirn,
Brich Gestirn
Durch die Nacht!

Menschenmenge, grosse Menschenwüste,
Die umsonst der Geistesfrühling grüste,
Reisse, breche endlich altes Eis!
Stürz in starken stolzen Meeresstrudeln
Hin auf Knecht und Zwinghern, die dich hudeln,
Sei ein Volk, ein Freistaat, werde heiss!

Bleibt im Freiheitskampf das Herz dir frostig,
In der Scheide wird dein Schwerdt dann rostig,
Männerwille, aller Schwerdter Schwerdt!
Wird es gar im Fürstenkampf geschwungen,

Bald ist es zerschartet, bald zersprungen;
Nur im Volkskampf blitzt es unversehrt!

Thurmhoch auf der Bürger und der Bauern
Nacken mögt ihr eure Zwingburg mauern,
Fürstenmauer drei und dreimal zehn.
Babels Herrenthum und faule Weichheit
Stürzt in Nacht und Trümmern Freiheit, Gleichheit,
Gottheit, aus der Menschheit Mutterwehn!

Der Völker Volk liegt nieder in Angst und Schweiss
Seinen Hunger nährend in stummem Fleiss.
"Du armes Volk, dir ist so heiss,
Du bist so elend, so herzenskrank,
Beut keiner dir einen Labetrank?"

"Mir sprangen viel lustige Seegensbronnen,
Doch die sich zu Hütern mir gesetzt,
Die haben das Wasser vergiftet zuletzt.
Lang' haben mich blutige Thränen geletzt.
Doch nun sind auch die Zähren mir zerronnen,
Meine Zung' ist gelähmt, mein Arm ist zerschlagen,
Mein Herz ist zerbrochen und stirbt in Klagen;
Leben muss ich, ewig sterbend zu verzagen.'"

VIELE STIMMEN IM VOLKE.

Brüder, so kann's nicht gehn,
Lasst uns zusammen stehn,
Duldets nicht mehr!
Freiheit, dein Baum fault ab,
Jeder am Bettelstab
Beist bald ins Hungergrab;
Volk ins Gewehr!

Bruder in Gold und Seid,
Bruder im Bauernkleid,
Reicht euch die Hand!

Allen ruft Teutschland's Noth
Allen des Herrn Gebot:
Schlagt eure Plager todt,
Rettet das Land!

DER TISCH DES HERRN IN NACHT UND WALD.

Es zieht eine Schaar von Männern sich
Herab zum dunkeln Haine,
Beim dämmernden Fackelscheine;
Still ist ihr Blick, aber schauerlich
Nachtschwarz ihr Gewand, einfältiglich,
Nichts Glänzendes blickt ihr an solchen
Als den Glanz von geschliffenen Dolchen.

Und dort wo die Tannen und Eichen im Runde
Zum erhabenen Dome sich thürmen,
Gottes Orgel brauset in Stürmen,
Wie ein Altar aufsteigt der Felsengrund,
Dort trat man zusammen zur Mitternachtsstund,
Und hervor aus dem heiligen Kreise
Dumpf shauerlich tönte die Weise:

Nacht und kein Stern!
Zündet des Opfertods Kerzen,
Braust in die Segel der Herzen,
Stürme des Herrn.

Aus Nacht und Sturm
Spross eine Freiheitsrose,
Weh, in dem eignen Schooss
Trug sie den Wurm.

Freiheit ist todt,
Überall bleiches Verderben,
Feigheit und ewiges Sterben,
Knechtschaft und Noth.

Rachengel auf,
Auf, die Posaunen erklingen,
Gräber und Särge zerspringen;
Freiheit steht auf.

Drum stehn wir hier;
Dir soll dies Leben gehören,
Freiheitstodt! Vater wir schwören
Kniend bei Dir.

Und wie was da lebet und kreucht und fleucht,
Wenn der Donner des Höchsten erbrüllet,
In tiefes Schweigen sich hüllet,
So knien sie, im stummen Danke gebeugt,
Vor dem, dess Gnad' uns zur Freiheit erzeugt,
Bis zween Älteste treten zusammen,
Und entzünden des Hochaltars Flammen.

Und die Todbrüder treten zum Altar hin,
Zu empfahn in heilger Entflammung,
Was uns Heil bringt oder Verdammung.
Mit dem König der Märt'rer Ein Blut und Ein Sinn,
So nehmen die Märtyrerweihe sie hin,
Und weihn sich der ew'gen Erbarmung
Mit Opfergesang und Umarmung.

ABENDMAHLLIED FREIER FREUNDE.

Mir wars im Herzensraum
So öde sonst, so traurig,
Nur Flammen so wild und schaurig
Störten den bangen Traum,
Wie dort, wo sich die Eiskristalle thürmen,
Oft Gluthen grässlich schön zum Himmel stürmen,
So stürmten ohne Meister
Im shauernden Entzücken meine Geister.

Doch nun, wie Mondesnacht
Bei lichtem Sterngewimmel,

Ja wie ein Frühlingshimmel
In milder Rosenpracht,
Als sängen die Gestirne mir entgegen,
So tränkt ein güldner heilger Strahlenregen
Des Herzens welke Pflanze.
Was ists mit diesen Klängen, diesem Glanze?

Der Friede Gottes ruht
In stiller Unschuld Feier,
Hehr wie ein Jungfraunschleier,
Mir neu auf Herz und Muth;
Den ich im Tod nur hoffte zu umarmen,
Last lebend mich an seiner Brust erwarmen,
Seit ich in seinem Blute
Zerbrach den Tod und des Gewissens Ruthe.

O Jesu, liebster Mein!
In Fleisch und Blut und Leben
Im höchsten Geisterstreben
Bin ich nun ewig dein.
Der du dem Urgeist, der das All gegründet,
Die Menschheit hast durch Wort und That verbündet,
Hast neu für mich vergossen
Dein Blut, und in dein Herz mich eingeschlossen.

Wohl ist der Frühling schön,
Ein Kindlein wach vom Schlummer,
Ein Lächlein aus dem Kummer, —
Der Herbst malt Wald und Höh'n,
Das Aug' in Sehnsuchtsträumen halb geschlossen,
In Farbenbildern schwärmerisch ergossen; —
Doch all dies Freudeweben
Ist dir ein Hauch, in dir wohnt ewig Leben.

Dir bist du, Mensch, entflohn,
Ein Christus sollst du werden,
Wie du, ein Kind der Erden
War auch des Menschen Sohn.

In deinem Sein ist dir das Nichts vernichtet,
Gott richtet dich, wie du dich selbst gerichtet;
Gott ward *durch sich*, durch *Liebe*
Der Mensch, dass *Er* uns Ziel und Vorwurf bliebe.

O Schiff der Gotteshuld,
Du führst durch mächt'ge Pfade
Uns ans Gestad' der Gnade
Aus diesem Meer der Schuld.
O Tod des Herrn, du Niedergang voll Schmerzen
Zum Sonnenaufgang aller gläub'gen Herzen,
Himmlischer Friedensbogen
Aus Thränentrübsal mild emporgezogen.

Du mein teutsch Vaterland
Gabst mir mein Höchstes wieder,
Du reichtest treu und bieder
Dem Irrenden die Hand.
Dich fleht' ich an in brünstiger Umarmung,
Ich kniete nieder, bat und fand Erbarmung,
Es starb Furcht, Gram und Sünde,
Dass Liebe seelig in mir auferstünde.

Ja in der Liebe soll
Die Freiheit sich verklären.
Der Glauben sich bewähren
Zu Thaten wundervoll.
Wie aus dem Weltmeer steigt die freie Wolke,
So schwingt die Menschheit sich empor im Volke;
Wo Recht und Freiheit waltet,
Die Gottheit in der Menschheit sich entfaltet.

Ihr, die mit mir zugleich
Den Glaubenstrank genossen,
Der Tugend Bund geschlossen
Für Kreuz und Schwerdt und Eich',
Ein Herz, Ein Arm, Ein Blut sind wir geworden,
Der ew'gen Freiheit heil'ger Märt'rerorden.

Stehn wir nur treu beisammen,
Wird uns der Liebe Heil'genschein umflammen.

Der du am Brandaltar
Elias Ruf erhörtest,
Baals Thron und Frohn zerstörtest,
Zu dir fleht unsre Schaar
Am Vaterlands-Altar mit Herz und Munde,
Dein Opfer harrt, fach an zum Flammenbunde
Die teutschen Hochgebirge,
Dann Volk die Molochspriester würge, würge!

THE GREAT SONG.

PREFACE.

Arise, ye princes! Ye people, arise!
Freedom and vengeance in full career,
God's tempests in blood are approaching!
Up, that when the world is blazing
You may not be then found sleeping!
Rise from thy slumbers, lazy worm, rise,
To the heavens look up; 'midst glorious storms
In splendor thy death-star has risen!
It awakes,
It awakes,
Deep from the sun-bearing night
In the blood-glowing joy of the morning,
The sun of all suns,
The people's might!
Word of the Lord, thou hast been spoken,
Liberty's blood, blood of the people, thou art avenged,
Twilight of idols, thou art beginning.

MOTTO.

When the oaks and flowers wither
In the wasting, parching sun,

Then the people are but shadows,
And the land a grave for men;
When tyrannic power presses
Like a nightmare on the land,
Then no little bird can sing
His heartsome freedom-song;
When the streams are changed to marshes,
And when all the hills and fountains
Send forth only poisonous vapors,
And the merry fishes die,
And the toads and vermin fatten;—
Then the lightnings must descend,
And the angry tempests roar,
That mankind may rise from shadows,
That the day may dawn from night!

VOICE FROM THE PEOPLE.

An old man sang from his deep breast,
In him were dead for aye the springs of hope,
He sang a song for his last journey,
He sang himself his own grave-song.
Slowly and heavily thus sang the old man:
"When tyranny, priestcraft, and fraud,
The slow undermining corrosion of vice,
Have triumphed and overthrown freedom,
The dearly beloved,
The heaven-devoted
Arch, temple, and home of mankind;
When thou, wounded fatherland, pinest away;
Then for thy last unction my blood shall be given.
O freedom, thou glory of May,
Bride of my soul, sun of my suns,
When thou from this island in this sea of worlds
Didst depart to the saviour of men!
O freedom, first smile of my lips,
My ideal, my earliest prayer,
Which still in my heart ever glows,
Yet in thy might shall the German youth rise,
To the starry height of their ancient truth;

As the cross of the spirit, God consecrates thee,
He who sees the foundations on which their hearts rest.
Yes, when the first seeds of this life have bloomed,
And have ripened and died for new seed,
The crown of thorns then I will seize on with joy,
The trumpet of eternal victory sounds,
And Freedom! Freedom, shall be my Amen, my Amen!"
But the young,
They still sang
Fresh, merry, and free.
Worthy sons of the gymnasium,
Eyes are sparkling, swords are flashing,
Sound the trump of liberty.

Burst, come forth
From the heart,
Youthful shouts,
Clashing swords,
Freedom's joy.

Heart and brain,
Swell with might
Breast and front,
Break, ye stars,
Through the night.

Human masses, mighty human deserts,
Who in vain the spirit's spring has greeted,
Give way, break up old ice!
Rush in, mighty angry ocean billows,
Over slaves and tyrants who oppress thee;
Be a nation, be a free state, be on fire!

If thy bosom beats coldly for freedom,
Thy sword in its scabbard will rust;
The sword of all swords is the high manly will!
But if in the battles of Princes 't is drawn,
Then soon it will shiver and break;
It flashes unhurt when it fights for the people!

Ye may tread on the necks of the peasants,
Three times you may treble your walls,
Princely masons! yet freedom, equality,
Divinity, born from humanity's throes,
Shall hurl into darkness and ruin this Babel
Of lazy, effeminate tyrants.

The nation of nations, exhausted and worn,
In dumb industry labors for food.
" Poor people, spent with toil and heat,
Thou art so wretched, sick at heart.
Will no one give a cooling draught?"

" Once for me pure springs were bubbling,
But they, who made themselves my guardians,
Have poisoned all these blessed streams.
Long my bloody tears refreshed me,
Now e'en my tears are dried away,
My tongue is tied, my arm is bruised,
With grief my broken heart is dead,
Despairing I must ever live."

MANY VOICES FROM THE PEOPLE.

Brethren, this must not be,
Let us stand together,
We 'll bear no more!
Liberty, thy tree decays,
Each, on his beggar's staff,
Will sink in famine's grave.
People, to arms!

Brethren in gold and silk,
Brethren in the peasant's garb,
Take each other by the hand!
To each one cries his country's need,
The Lord's commandment calls to all,
Destroy your tormentors!
Rescue the land!

TABLE OF THE LORD. NIGHT, AND A WOOD.

A band of men is seen descending
To the dark and gloomy wood,
By the torches' flickering light;
Quiet is their look, but fearful is
Their black and simple dress;
No glittering show in them you see,
Save the glitter of their daggers.

Now where the pine-trees and oaks in a circle,
Rise towering up to a lofty dome,
Where the organ of God is heard in the tempest,
And where the old rocks like an altar ascend,
There stood they together at the dead midnight;
And now, from the holy band, slowly
And solemnly rises the song:

Night and no stars!
Death's tapers are lighting;
Rush into the sails of the heart,
Storms of the Lord.

From tempest and night
Sprang liberty's rose;
Alas! its own bosom
Nourished the worm.

Now freedom is dead,
Everywhere is pale ruin;
Death and fear are around us,
Bondage and want.

Rise, angel of vengeance,
The trumpets are sounding,
The graves are all opening,
Freedom is risen!

For this we stand here,
Murdered Freedom, to thee

Give our lives! Father, we swear,
Kneeling to thee!

And as all the living, whether creeping or flying,
When the Highest in thunder is speaking,
In silence and awe bow themselves;
So knelt they in silence, and gratefully prayed
To Him, whose rich grace doth liberty give;
Now two aged men step forward together,
And kindle the flames on the altar.

Round the altar they gather these brethren in death,
That holy inspiring rite to receive,
That brings us salvation or shame.
One blood and one mind with the great king of martyrs,
Consecrated as martyrs they stand,
And offer themselves to mercy eternal
In high sacred song and embrace.

COMMUNION-SONG OF FREE FRIENDS.

There dwelt once in my heart,
So lonely, and so mournful,
Flames only wild and fearful,
Disturbed and anxious dreams;
As where you see from icy crystal towers
In horrid beauty flames to heaven ascend,
So stormed once without master
In shuddering wild joy my soul.

Now like a moonlight night,
Like the clear starry heavens,
Like the sky in early spring-time,
Like the blossoming of roses,
As though all the stars sang together to me,
A holy shower of golden rays
Falls on my fainting heart.
What are these sounds I hear? What is this glory?

The peace of Heaven descends
Solemn, calm as innocence,
Holy as a virgin's veil,
Upon my heart and soul;
Who only in death I hoped to embrace,
Now warms me in life at his breast,
    Since I in his blood
Have broken the terrors of conscience and death.

O Jesus! thou beloved one,
In flesh, in blood, and in life,
In my highest aspirations,
I now am thine for ever.
Thou who to the Being of beings, the Father of all,
By deed and by word hast united mankind,
    Now sheddest thy blood too for me,
Now receivest me into thy bosom.

Surely spring is lovely,
A child that wakes from slumber,
A smile that follows sorrow,
Forests decked in autumn hues,
Eyes half closed in longing dreams,
Wrapped in visions wild and strange;
    But this joyful, active life,
Is but a breath to Thee, in Thee dwells eternal life.

Hast thou escaped thyself?
A Christ shalt thou become;
A child of earth, like thee,
Was he, the Son of Man.
In thy being nothingness is turned to nought;
God judges thee, as thou hast judged thyself;
    God through himself, through love, became a man,
That he our aim and model might remain.

O vessel of God's mercy!
Thou bearest us through gloomy paths,

To realms of heavenly grace,
Far from this sea of guilt.
O death of Jesus, setting full of woe,
For rising of all faithful hearts;
Heavenly bow of endless peace,
Gently shining through our tears of sorrow.

O, thou my Fatherland!
Thou gavest me my highest good;
True and faithful thou hast given
To the wanderer a hand;
In eager longings I implored thee,
I knelt and prayed and pity gained,
Fear, sin, and sorrow died,
That happy love might rise within me.

Yes, liberty in love
Shall yet be glorified;
Faith shall approve itself
In glorious deeds.
As the free cloud from ocean rises,
Humanity shall from the people rise;
Where right and liberty prevail,
In human nature the divine unfolds.

You, who together have with me
Enjoyed this dream of faith,
And joined this league of virtue,
For cross, and sword, and oak,
We now are one; one heart, one aim, one blood;
The martyr order of eternal freedom.
If we but stand together,
Then love will shed its glowing halo round us.

TURNERSTAAT.

Schalle, du Freiheitssang!
Walle, wie Wogendrang
Aus Felsenbrust!
Feig bebt der Knechte Schwarm;
Uns schlägt das Herz so warm,
Uns zuckt der Jünglingsarm
Voll Thatenlust.

Gott Vater! Dir zu Ruhm
Flammt Deutsches Ritterthum
In uns aufs neu;
Neu wird das alte Band,
Wachsend wie Feuersbrand:
Gott, Freiheit, Vaterland,
Altteutsche Treu.

Einfach und gläubig sey,
Kräftig und keusch und frei
Hermanns Geschlecht!
Zwingherrnmacht, Knechtewitz
Malmt Gottes Racheblitz;
Euch sei der Königssitz
Freiheit und Recht!

Freiheit! in uns erwacht
Ist deine Geistermacht,
Dein Reich genaht.
Glühend nach Wissenschaft,
Blühend in Ritterkraft,
Sei, Deutsche Turnerschaft,
Ein Bruderstaat.

Sause, du Freiheitssang!
Brause, wie Donnerklang
Aus Wolkenbrust!
Ein Herz, ein Leben ganz
Stehn wir, ein Sternenkranz

Um einer Sonne Glanz,
Voll Himmelslust!

GYMNASTIC STATE.

Echo, thou freedom's song! rush like the waves along
From the rock's breast!
Tremble, thou slave throng; for us beats the heart so warm,
For us moves the young man's arm, longing for deeds.

God, Father! to thy glory flames German chivalry
In us anew;
New becomes the old bond, kindling like firebrand;
God! Freedom! Fatherland! old German truth.

Simple and full of faith, fearless and chaste and free,
Be Hermann's race!
Tyrants' might, tyrants' craft, God's lightnings overthrow:
Be for you the ruler's seat, Freedom and Right!

Freedom, in us aroused is thy spirit's power,
Thy kingdom comes.
Blooming in knightly grace, burning for knowledge too,
May the German Gymnasts be one brother-state!

Pour forth, thou freedom's song! roll, as the thunder bursts
From the cloud's breast!
One heart, one true life, one starry wreath we stand,
In the light of one sun, full of Heaven's bliss!

TURNBEKENNTNISS.

Auf Jubeldonner und Liedersturm!
Der Begeisterung Blitz hat gezündet;
Der Mannheit Eiche, der Deutschheit Thurm
Ist in Deutschland wieder gegründet:

Der Freiheit Wiege, dein Sarg, Drängerei!
Wird gezimmert aus dem Baum der Turnerei.

Ein Turner ist der: so mit Wehr und Geschoss
Durch das Blachfeld stürmt, durch Geklüfte,
In die Wogen sich wirft, auf das bäumende Ross,
In die Lüfte sich schwingt, in die Grüfte,
Der Freiheit nicht ohne Gleichheit kennt,
Dem Gott und sein Volk nur im Busen brennt!

Das Kreuz und der sausende Freiheitsfahn,
Auf des Hochstamms zerhauener Krone,
Beut Kreuzeslast auf der sauren Bahn
Und Rast auf dem Kreuz ihm zu Lohne;
Die Eintracht schirmet, die Gleichtracht wacht
Vor Hochmuthsteufel und Niedertracht.

Auf auf du Turner! Du Deutscher, wohlan!
Auf ehrliche, wehrliche Jugend!
Noch ficht mit der Wahrheit gekrönter Wahn,
Noch kämpft mit dem Teufel die Tugend.
Schwerdstahl, aus dem Rost! aus dem Schlauch junger Most!
Durch die Dunstluft, Nordost! grüner Mai, aus dem Frost!

THE GYMNAST'S CREED.

Sound thunders of jubilee, storm of song!
Inspiration has kindled her lightnings;
The oak tree of manhood, the true German tower,
In Germany once more is planted:
Liberty's cradle, thy coffin, Oppression!
Is carved from the wood of the Gymnast's tree.

A Gymnast is he, who with weapons and armour
Storms over the plains and through gulfs,
On his prancing steed rushes into the waves
Swings into the air, leaps into the caves,

Who knows no liberty without equality,
In whose heart only God and his country glow!

* * * * *

† Arise thou Gymnast! thou German, come on!
Up, ye noble, ye warlike young men!
With crowned error truth yet is contending,
Still the devil is fighting with virtue.
Sword-blades, quit your rust! from your skins rush, new wine!
From vapors, north wind! Green May, from the frost!

BUNDESLIED (DER SCHWEIZER AUF DEM RÜTLI.)

Auf! ihr Glocken dieses festen Thurmes,
Bruderstimmen, auf! stimmt mächtig an!
Schlagt im Wehn des Liedersturmes, Freiheitsflammen, himmelan!
Bundesflammen, himmelan!
Heran! heran! heran!

Preis zuerst dir, höchster Hort und Retter,
Vater! der uns frei und seelig macht;
Dein Bannir, dein heilig Wetter leucht' uns vor in Nacht und Schlacht,
Dass Zwinguri niederkracht!
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!

Auf! ihr Säulen eines Bruderdomes,
Schützet eures Volkes Altarflamm!
Quellen eines Freiheitsstromes: nieder reisst der Bosheit Damm!
Der Gewaltherrn ganzen Stamm!
Hinan! hinan! hinan!

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† A stanza is here omitted in the translation, because the technical allusions which it contains make it almost unintelligible to one not familiar with a German Gymnasium.

Ja, "bei Gott und Vaterland! verderben
Woll'n wir der Gewaltherrn letzte Spur;
Gern für Recht, für Freiheit sterben, bleibt dem Volk die Freiheit nur!"
Gott hör' unsern Bundesschwur!
Hör' an! hör' an! hör' an!

Steig' aus unsers Blutes Morgenglanze
Glüh'nde Volkessonn' in alter Pracht!
In des Reiches Sternenglanze steig' aus unsers Todes Nacht:
Freistaat, Volkes Gottesmacht!
Empor! Empor! Empor!

Aus den Dornen unsrer Märtrerkronen
Blühen Rosen auf dem Vaterland.
Freiem Muth muss Freiheit lohnen: darum Brüder Hand in Hand
Folgt der Freiheit heil'gem Brand!
Voran! voran! voran!

Heil dir Bruderbund! den wir beschworen,
Heil dir Freiheitswiege! Zwingherrngruft!
Der zu Märtrern uns erkoren, der zur Hermannsthat uns ruft,
Zur Sankt-Georgenthat uns ruft!
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!

Freiheitshimmel, roth von Jugendwonnen,
Du, mit deinem Blau allewig neu!
Keine Nacht löscht deine Sonnen, denn kein Tod löscht Lieb und Treu:
Männertreue, Bundestreue!
Wohlan! wohlan! wohlan!

Freiheitsbund! vor trage deinem Volke,
Deiner Zeit das Freiheitsbanner kühn,
Aus dir freie Donnerwolke! soll das Siegskreuz Gottes glühn
Soll ein neues Reich erblühn
Hinan! hinan! hinan!

UNION SONG OF THE SWISS AT THE RÜTLI.

Sound! ye bells of this firm tower,
Brother voices, ring out loudly!
Sound in woe the storm of song,
Rise, freedom's flames, heavenwards!
Flames of union, rise to heaven!
Come on! Come on! Come on!

Praise to Thee, High Rock and Saviour,
Who hast free and happy made us, — Father!
Thy lightnings and thy sacred banner
Light us on in might and battle,
When Zwinghri crackles down!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!

Rise! pillars of one brother-temple,
Guard your people's altar flame!
Fountains of one freedom-river,
Overthrow the dams of sin!
And of tyrants the whole race!
Arise! Arise! Arise!

Yes, by God and Fatherland! will we
Destroy the last trace of the tyrant;
For right, for freedom gladly die,
If for the people freedom lives.
God hear our oath of union!
Give ear! Give ear! Give ear!

In ancient pomp the people's sun
Shall dawn from our blood's morning-red!
In the kingdom's starry glory
Rise from the night of our death;
A free state, God's power, a nation!
On high! On high! On high!

From our martyr-crown of thorns
Bloom roses for our fatherland.

Freedom shall reward free souls;
Therefore, brothers! hand in hand
Follow freedom's holy brand!
Go on! Go on! Go on!

Hail, brother-bond, that we have sworn!
Hail, freedom's cradle! tyrants' grave!
Who has chosen us for martyrs,
Who to Hermann's acts now calls us,
He bids us do St. George's deeds!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!

Freedom's heaven, red with youthful fire,
In thine azure ever new!
No night extinguishes thy suns,
For no death quenches love and truth;
Manly truth, and plighted truth!
Speed on! Speed on! Speed on!

Freedom-union! bear before thy people
The freedom-banner bravely in thy day.
From thee, thou thunder-cloud of freedom!
The victory-cross of God shall shine,
And a youthful realm shall bloom!
Arise! Arise! Arise!

BUNDESLIED (DER MIT EGMONT VERSCHWORNEN NIEDERLÄNDER.)

Augen glänzen, Herzen glühn hoch zur Bundesfeier;
Wie die geist'gen Funken sprühn! auf Gesang! entfulte kühn
Alle Herzensschleier.

Wer sein selber ist bewusst, sieht die Welt entsiegelt;
Drum in uns strahlt Himmelslust: wie des Meers tiefreine Brust
Stern und Himmel spiegelt.

Brich, o Welt! in Trümmern gleich über uns zusammen:
Wir stehn muthig, nimmerbleich, fester als Stahl, Fels und Eich'
Mitten in den Flammen.

Fürsten! eure Gauklerkunst spielt auf mürben Brettern;
Götzengroll und Höflingsgunst: das zerfleugt wie Dampf und Dunst
In der Freiheit Wettern!

Nach der Freiheit wetzt die Brut stets ihr Henkersmesser;
Nicht des Volkes Gut und Blut stillt des Höllenhungers Glut
Euch, ihr Seelenfresser!

Freiheit ruht, wie Sonnenschein, mild auf Seengenshalmen;
Gott spricht: Ja! ihr aber: Nein! bis Er fährt im Donnerschein,
All' euch zu zermalmen!

Wie die Becher dieser Nacht, Brüder! so soll glühen
Unser Bundesschwerd mit Macht, wann in blut'ger Lockenpracht
Berge Flammen sprühen!

Tells und Hermanns Heldenspur wandeln wir aufs neue;
Was auf Rütli's Felsenflur, was auf Teutoburg man schwur,
Schwören wir in Treue!

Eidgenossen! Hand in Hand schlaget ein zum Bunde!
So schling' um das Vaterland Gott ein heilig Liebesband,
Segn' auch diese Stunde!

UNION SONG OF THE NETHERLANDERS,

ENGAGED IN THE CONSPIRACY OF EGMONT.

Eyes are glistening, hearts beat high, at the feast of union.
How the spirit's rays are darting! Rise, O song, and bravely lift
All veils from every heart.

Whosoever knows himself, sees the world unsealed;
Hence in us beams Heaven's joy; as the pure deep ocean's breast
Mirrors stars and heaven.

Break, O world, in ruins straight over us! Together
We stand bravely, ne'er turn pale, firm as steel, or rock, or oak,
In the midst of flames!

Princes! all your juggler-arts are played on rotten boards;
Idols' hatred, courtiers' favor, pass away like smoke and vapor,
In the storm of freedom!

After freedom, still that brood ever whet their hangman knives;
Nor does the people's good or blood, sate your hellish hunger's rage
You, ye soul-devourers!

Freedom falls as sunshine does, gently on the blades of corn,
God says, Yea! but ye say, Nay! till he in his thunder comes
To crush ye every one.

Like the goblets of this night, brothers! so shall glisten
Our united swords with might, when in bloody splendor curling
Mountain flames are rising!

Tell's and Hermann's hero steps we will tread anew;
What on Rütli's rocky shore, what at Teutoburg, we swore,
That we swear in truth!

Now, confederates! hand in hand, join in our alliance!
So around our fatherland, may God cast a holy band
Of love, and bless this hour!

KÖRNERS TODTENFEIER.

Unterm Klang der Kriegeshörner
Riefen Engelstimmen: "Körner!"
Und das Heldenherze bricht.
Herzen, Augen, brecht in Zähren!
Eure Zähren wird verklären
Hohen Glaubens Freudenlicht.

Deutschland, dem du treu verbunden,
Fühlt, o Bruder, deine Wunden,
Blutet mit und — freuet sich!
Bist ein König, hochbeneidet,
Deines Blutes Purpur kleidet,
Heil'ge Dornen krönen dich.

Wenn die Saiten längst zersprungen,
Lebt das Lied auf allen Zungen,
Lebt unsterblich im Gemüth.
Nur des Lebens Licht verdunkelt,
Doch der Stern der Liebe funkelt,
Bis im Lichtmeer er verglüht.

Jesu, reine Gottesminne,
Eine unsres Volkes Sinne
In der Liebe Heil'genglanz!
Lass auch uns, nach heissen Mühen,
Einst wie unsrem Bruder blühen
Dornenkron und Sternenkranz!

KÖRNER'S FUNERAL SONG.

'Midst the sounding war-horn's clangor,
An angel voice is calling "Körner,"
And the hero's heart has broke.
Hearts and eyes o'erflow with weeping!
Yet high faith, with light rejoicing,
Shall illumine our tears.

Germany, thou lovedst so truly,
Feels, O brother, all thy wounds!
Bleeds with thee and yet rejoices!
King thou art, and highly envied;
Thy purple blood thy mantle is,
Holy thorns thy diadem.

Though the music-strings be broken,
On every tongue the song is living,
  Lives immortal in the soul.
Though the light of life be fading,
Still the star of love is shining,
  Nor sets but in a sea of light. *

Jesus! thou pure love of God,
Unite the hearts of all our people,
  In the holy bonds of love!
Grant that, after earnest striving,
May bloom for us, as for our brother,
  Crowns of thorns and wreaths of stars.

THE LAST HOPE.

This, and the following poem, by Körner, were translated by Dr. Follen in the autumn of 1839, at Lexington. This was the last poetry he ever wrote.

Why knit ye the brow, so stern and so dark,
Why stare at the night so wild and so stark,
  Brave spirits, who never should tremble?
The storm is howling, and heaving the tide,
The earth is reeling on every side;
  Our trouble we will not dissemble.

The fires of hell are rising again,
Much generous blood has been lavished in vain,
  Still the wicked, the powerful, glory.
But never despair; your help is in God;
Not in vain the beginning is crimsoned with blood;
  'T is the day-star that rises so gory.

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* When Dr. Follen published this poem in his "Reader," he omitted the third verse, as it was in the "Freye Stimmen frischer Jugend," and substituted the one here given in its place.

If once there was need of courage and might,
Now gather all courage and strength for the fight,
  Lest the ship in the haven yet perish.
The tiger is crouching; ye young men, awake!
Ye old men, to arms! my countrymen, break
  From the slumbers of death, which you cherish!

What avails it to live, if liberty fall?
What is there so dear in this Infinite All,
  As our own mother country, that bore us?
We 'll free our dear country, or hasten our way
To the free, happy fathers; — yes, happy are they
  Who have died in the struggle before us.

Then howl on, ye storms, and roll on, thou tide,
And tremble old earth, on every side!
  Our free spirits bid you defiance.
The earth that we tread on beneath us may sink;
As freemen we 'll stand, and never will shrink; —
  With our blood we will seal our alliance.

FAREWELL TO LIFE.

Lines written by Körner, when he lay dangerously wounded and helpless in a forest, expecting to die.

This smarting wound, — these lips so pale and chill! —
  My heart, with faint and fainter beating, says,
  I stand upon the borders of my days.
Amen! my God, I own thy holy will.
The golden dreams, that once my soul did fill,
  The songs of mirth, become sepulchral lays.
  Faith! faith! That truth which all my spirit sways,
Yonder, as here, must live within me still.
And what I held as sacred here below,
  What I embraced with quick and youthful glow,

Whether I called it liberty, or love,
A seraph bright I see it stand above;
And, as my senses slowly pass away,
A breath transports me to the realms of day.

No. II.

PRAYERS.

For Sunday Morning.

Our daily labor, our common cares and amusements, have ceased; they have given way to holier exertions and better enjoyments, the sacred duties of the Sabbath. The work of our hands is subject to the law of this day; God grant that its spirit may reign in our hearts and penetrate our lives; that, through faithful exertion and devout aspiration, we may render ourselves worthy of that eternal Sabbath, which the Saviour of the world will celebrate with his friends in the house of his Father and our Father. Amen.

We thank thee, O our heavenly Father, for the return of this solemn day, which brings us together to offer to Thee our united prayers and praises, to contemplate Thee in thy wonderful works, and in thy Holy Word. We thank Thee for thy guardian care over us during the past week; and now, that the work of our hands has ceased, in obedience to the law of this thy day, grant that its spirit may reign in our hearts. We bless Thee, O Father, that thou hast sent thy beloved Son to thy erring human family, who has revealed to us thy truth and thy will, and has promised to be in the midst of those who are assembled in thy name.

Grant, O God, that his spirit may now be in the midst of us, that with him we may draw nigh unto Thee and rejoice in thy glory. Amen.

Our Father in Heaven, we thank Thee for the light of this thy day. We gratefully acknowledge, that Thou hast been with us in our labors, cares, and recreations during the last week. Be with us, we be-

seech Thee, in the services now before us; may they be conducted according to the principles laid down in the gospel of thy Son; may they be aided and directed by thy holy spirit. Amen.

Our souls rise to Thee, the Father of light and love. We thank Thee, that thou hast opened our mortal eyes to see thy wonderful works. We bless Thee, that thou hast poured light upon the eye of the mind, to behold and enjoy the glories of thy love. We thank Thee, that thou hast granted to the pure in heart to see Thee.

Thou, O God, hast formed every human mind to be a pure and true mirror of Thyself; but we, O God, have troubled and sullied it by earthly passions, and rendered it unfit for reflecting Thee, the God of infinite purity. The earth has not strayed from its appointed path round the sun, but we the children of the earth, ay, the children of light, have turned from the path of light and strayed from the sun of truth and holiness. Father, we would come to Thee as thy children, but oh, we stand convicted, by our life and our hearts, that we have sinned against heaven and before Thee, and are no more worthy to be called thy children. Father, we would ask the pardon of our sins; but, alas, we have so often asked and received forgiveness, and again sinned, that it has become a mere form to us. Father, send down thy reproving Spirit, to arouse within us the consciousness of our guilt, and that we have so often slighted the hand which is always stretched out to save us.

We desire to draw nigh unto Thee, O God; we pray for thy presence in this worshipping assembly, in the sanctuary of each soul that longs to commune with Thee, our Creator, our Guardian, our best and dearest Friend.

We thank Thee, O God, for the paternal care that thou hast exercised over us from infancy; we fervently thank Thee for the rich gifts and innumerable blessings thou hast bestowed upon us. We praise Thee for the light of reason, by which thou hast enabled us to find Thee in the works of nature; to discover in the smallest, as well as in the greatest objects and events, the traces of thy power, thy wisdom and thy love. We thank Thee, Father, for that still more glorious light, which thou hast made to rise on the evil and on the good in thy Holy Word, which thou hast sent us by thy people of old, and finally by thy dear Son, who has taught us to seek Thee in prayer.

Bless the Pastor of this religious society; grant him the sweet reward of his faithful exertions to see thy work prosper in his hands, to behold the fruits of righteousness and piety, which his labors are intended to produce. Bless the people, who are the objects of his care. May they faithfully use all the means of religious improvement, which are offered to them by thy kind providence. Assist them in their endeavours to provide for themselves and their families; may they see a brother in every fellow-being that needs their assistance. Aid and guide them, O Father, in the education of their children; may they learn to know and to love Thee, through the gospel of thy beloved Son. Bless all our schools and seminaries of learning, in which the young are educated for extensive usefulness to society; bless the churches of Christ, in which all men are trained up for the kingdom of heaven. We thank Thee, O God, for the blessings of civil and religious liberty, which we enjoy in this country. May we render ourselves more and more worthy of inestimable blessings, that this country may be an example to other nations, that where political freedom is most fully established, the laws are most strictly observed; and that where religious liberty prevails, the interest in religion is most deeply felt, and most clearly manifested in piety and good works.

PART OF A PRAYER FOR THE STUDENTS, AT THE COLLEGE CHAPEL.

AWAKEN in them that divine ambition, which is satisfied with no degree of excellence short of perfection. Excite in them a thirst for knowledge, and grant that it may lead them to the waters of eternal life. Arouse in them the spirit of study, that spirit which rises above poverty and a mean education; which surmounts all obstacles in climbing the lofty path of science, and elicits sparks of truth from the hardest subjects.

Teach them, that the highest freedom consists in the most lasting and the most extensive usefulness; in self-denial, in devotion to our calling, in holy fortitude, and cheerful obedience to the best and highest will.

We thank Thee, especially, Father, for the gift of Him in whom there was no sin, no variableness or shadow of turning, from that blessed hour, when angels announced the birth of the true Shepherd, to that hour of transcendent glory, when angels declared the resurrection of the Saviour of the world.

Prayer written for the Children of the Sunday School in Cambridge.

Our Father in heaven, our constant and our best friend! We love Thee and adore Thee from our hearts. Thou hearest our prayer. Thou seest us always, at home and in school, in our studies and our plays. Thou watchest over us night and day. Thou hast given us life and health and our daily bread. Thou hast given us tender parents, kind teachers, pleasant and faithful friends. Thou hast sent Jesus, thy beloved Son, to teach us thy will, to show us the way to heaven and to Thee. O God, thou hast loved us while we were very small and not yet able to love Thee; O God, thou hast loved us while we were ungrateful and not worthy of thy love. O make us truly sorry for our sins, for our disobedience to our parents, and unkindness to our friends, for inattention at school, and in the house of God.

O Thou, who lovest all thy children, we desire to be worthy of thy love. Keep us from harm, save us from sin. Give us a grateful mind and an understanding heart. Father, thou hast given us a happy home here on earth. Father, when we die, give us a home in heaven, with thy dear Son and with all our friends, that we may live with Thee and love Thee for ever. Amen.

Upon the Death of one of the Society.

Father, we thank Thee that thou hast implanted in us the principle of love; of love to our families, our country, to the whole family of man. We thank Thee, that thou hast established a relationship among all men, by which they are enabled and moved to sympathize with one another.

Grant that we may improve by the teachings of thy providence. Our eyes now seek in vain, in this whole land of the living, one who once used to meet with us in this house; but our minds rest satisfied, that we shall find him in that house of praise and prayer, which the Saviour of the world has gone to prepare for those who love him.

No. III.

VOTES

OF THE CORPORATION OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, a letter of Mr. Duponceau to Mr. Ticknor, signifying Professor Follen's assent to the conditional proposal made to him, in behalf of the Corporation, to be an instructor in German at the University, was communicated; whereupon it was voted,

That if the Overseers concur in the vote of the Corporation respecting this department, the President be authorized to engage Dr. Follen on the following conditions:

1. Dr. Follen is to have his residence in Cambridge, and give instruction in German for three days in the week, to such of the members of the University as the Corporation shall point out. If the instruction in German shall not occupy the fair proportion of time of these three days, he will be expected to give instruction in some other branch which he can teach.

2. He may give lectures at the Law School, making such charges as he may see fit, with the assent of the Corporation.

3. His salary shall begin from the time of his acceptance of this offer, viz. five hundred dollars a year, paid quarterly.

N. B. The time of the continuance of this engagement is left to the will of the parties, it being understood that, in case either shall be dissatisfied, reasonable notice be given.

JOHN T. KIRKLAND, *President.*

TO MR. TICKNOR.

R. Professor Ticknor,

Dear Sir, The Overseers having concurred in the vote of the Corporation mentioned above, relating to the department of foreign languages, I request Professor Follen to undertake the office of instructor German, on the conditions stated, and ask you to do me the favor communicate with him, on the subject, in my behalf.

With great consideration,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN T. KIRKLAND,

vember 19*th*, 1825. *Pres. of Harvard University.*

No. IV.

SUMMARY OF A COURSE OF LECTURES

ON

THE CIVIL LAW.

BY CHARLES FOLLEN, J. U. D.

INTRODUCTION.

General view of the science of Law. Natural and Positive Law. Comparative importance of the different philosophical and historical branches of Jurisprudence. Reasons which recommend the Civil Law to the study of every lawyer, and in this country in particular. Outline of the fundamental principles of the Civil Law. Its vindication against the aspersion of favoring despotism.

Precise object of these Lectures; the Civil Law contained in the Code of the Emperor Justinian, with as much of its history, as is necessary to explain its practical principles; and adding the most important modifications it has received in modern times, particularly by the Canon Law. Those parts of the Civil Law, which are of practical application in this country, are to be explained in their details; of all its other doctrines only the leading principles, which may impart a clear idea of the whole, will be noticed.

History of the Civil Law. The Roman Law the growth of one thousand years, from the Code of the Twelve Tables to that of Justinian. Its gradual progress, and different periods. Code of Justinian, its contents and arrangement; — modes of quotation, and different editions. Treatises on the Civil Law. Its introduction into the modern kingdoms of Europe; its relation to the Canon Law, and other modern European laws and customs.

Order in which the Civil Law is to be explained. Advantages of the new division of the Civil Law, by *Heise*, into two parts, a *general* and a *special*, the former containing the elementary principles, the latter the details.

ELEMENTARY PART.

TIT. I. — *Of the Laws*, the sources of rights.

Chap. 1. Of the written law, or acts of legislature. Different species of statutes. Of their creation and termination. Interpretation and analogy. Of the extent and preference existing among different laws.

Chap. 2. Of the unwritten or customary laws.

TIT. II. — *Of the owners and objects of rights.*

Chap. 1. Of Persons, natural and fictitious (corporations.)

Chap. 2. Of Things.

Chap. 3. Of Actions.

Sect. 1. Of legal transactions of private persons. Legal requisites in regard to the transacting persons, and the objects of the transaction. Interpretation, and necessary proofs. Influence upon other persons. Corroborating acts; Oath, and Advance-money. Influence of error, force, and fraud upon legal transactions.

Sect. 2. Of illegal acts; *culpa*.

Chap. 4. Of time and space in their legal view. Civil computation of time. Presence and absence. Domicil.

Chap. 5. Accessory objects of rights. Appurtenances, Produce, Interests, Damage and Profit, Expenses, Accounts, Inventory.

TIT. III. — *Of Rights.* Their nature, the causes of their existence, termination, and transition to other persons. Contrariety of Rights.

TIT. IV. — *Of the means of maintaining rights;* by Self-defence and by Judicial proceedings.

SPECIAL PART.

BOOK I. — RIGHTS TO THINGS.

INTRODUCTION. — Of the different species of titles to things, as *Possession*, *Property*, and Rights on the property of others (*jura in re aliena*), viz. *Services*, *Building lease* (*superficies*), *Emphyteusis*, and *Pledges*.

TIT. I. — Possession.

TIT. II. — Property.

Chap. 1. Modes of acquiring property:
Sect. 1. By the law (*legè*), without regard to other property or acts of the acquirer.
Sect. 2. On account of other property of the acquirer (*beneficio rei nostræ*), as the produce of his estates, alluvion and commixtion.
Sect. 3. By acts of the acquirer only. Occupancy and Prescription.
Sect. 4. By combined acts of the disposer and acquirer. Delivery (*traditio*).
Chap. 2. Modes of termination of Property.
Chap. 3. Legal Remedies; *Rei vindicatio*, and *actio Publiciana*.
Tit. III. — Of Services.
Chap. 1. Nature, and different species.
Chap. 2. Services due to real estates, relating either to lands or to buildings (*servitutes rusticæ et urbanæ*).
Chap. 3. Services due to individuals (*personales*). Usufruct.
Chap. 4. Of the possession of services, and the causes of their existence and termination.
Chap. 5. Actions concerning services; *confessoria* and *negatoria*.
Tit. IV. — Building Lease.
Tit. V. — Emphyteusis.
Tit. VI. — Of Pledges.

Book II. — Of Obligations.

Introduction. — Of the nature and different sorts of Obligations and of the different causes from which they arise, viz. *Promises*, *Offences*, and *Analogous Cases* (*variæ causarum figuræ*).
Tit. I. — Of *Promises* in general, being either Pollicitations or Compacts.
Tit. II. — Of Pollicitations or unaccepted promises.
Tit. III. — Of Compacts. General Principles. Roman distinction between *Pacta* and *Contractus*, antiquated. General principle of compacts or contracts.
Tit. IV. — Roman division of contracts into real, verbal, literal, and consensual, antiquated. All covenants to be divided into *principal* and *accessory*. The principal contracts to be divided according to their implying obligations for *both* parties, or but

one of them, and to be subdivided in regard to their *object*, which consists either in transferring property (*Dare*), or the use of things (*Præstare*), or acts (*Facere*).

Tit. V. — *Principal* contracts containing obligations upon *both* parties.

Chap. 1. Covenants, whose object is to confer property on both sides. Exchange. Loan for consumption (*Pactum de mutuando*).

Chap. 2. Covenants, whose object is to convey property on one side, and the use of things on the other. Contract of hiring things (*locatio conductio rei*).

Chap. 3. Covenants, whose object is to convey property on one side, and to perform certain acts on the other. The contract of hiring persons for certain services (*locatio conductio operarum et operis*). Sale (*emptio venditio*). Obligation of the vender to answer for all imperceptible defects of the articles sold.

Chap. 4. Covenants, to procure the use of things on both sides.

Chap. 5. Covenants, whose object is the use of things on one side, and certain acts on the other. Loan for use (*Commodatum*).

Chap. 6. Covenants, whose objects are certain acts on both sides.

Chap. 7. Covenants, whose objects on either side may be to convey property, or to grant the use of certain things, or to perform certain acts. Partnership (*societas*).

Tit. VI. — Contracts which imply an obligation only for *one* party; whose object may be:

Chap. 1. The conveyance of property. Donation.

Chap. 2. The use of things. *Pactum de commodando.*

Chap. 3. Certain acts. Commission (*mandatum et depositum*). Contract with a broker (*contractus æstimatorius*, implying either commission or sale).

Tit. VII. — *Accessory* contracts. Surety. Contract of Pledging. *Lex commissoria. Pactum de retrovendendo, etc.*

Tit. VIII. — Second principal cause of Obligations, *Offences.*

Chap. 1. Nature and different species of private offences. *Injuria. Damnum injuria datum. Furtum. Rapina. Spolium.*

Chap. 2. Of the Prætorian *interdicta* against disturbing persons in their possession.

Tit. IX. — Third principal cause of obligations, *Analogous Cases.*

Chap. 1. Obligations arising from *negotiorum gestio*, and unpromised services rendered.

Chap. 2. Obligations arising from common possession, and the confusion of the boundaries of adjoining lands. (*Judicia communi dividendo*).

Chap. 3. Obligations of shipmasters and landlords with respect to things received.

Chap. 4. *Lex Rhodia de jactu.*

Chap. 5. *Actio de pauperie et de pastu. Actio de effusis vel dejectis.*

Chap. 6. Caution against damage threatened by adjoining buildings (*de damno infecto*), and by rain water (*actio aquæ pluviæ arcendæ*).

Chap. 7. Obligation of being witness, exhibiting documents, and obeying a final decision.

Chap. 8. Obligation to return things possessed without a sufficient title. (*Condictio indebiti, ob turpem vel injustam causam, et sine causa.*)

TIT. X. — *Of the termination of obligations.*

Chap. 1. Of payment.

Chap. 2. Of compensation.

Chap. 3. Of depositing in Court.

Chap. 4. Of mutual agreement.

Chap. 5. Compromise.

Chap. 6. Novation.

Chap. 7. The right of the creditor, and the duty of the debtor being united in the same person.

Chap. 8. Concurrence of two lucrative causes of acquisition.

Chap. 9. Termination of the accessory by that of the principal or alternative obligation.

Chap. 10. Final sentence.

Chap. 11. Destruction of the object of the obligation by accident.

BOOK III. — FAMILY RIGHTS.

Introduction. — Of Relationship and Affinity.

TIT. I. — Husband and Wife.

Chap. 1. Of the nature and causes of the existence and termination of matrimonial rights.

Chap. 2. Of the personal concerns between husband and wife.

Chap. 3. Of the influence of matrimony on the possessions of the married persons.

Tit. II. — Parent and Child.
Tit. III. — Guardian and Ward.

Book IV. — Law of Inheritance.

Introduction. — Of Inheritance and Succession in general.
Tit. I. — Testamentary succession.
Tit. II. — Legal succession.
Tit. III. — Of legacies and *donationes mortis causa*.
Tit. IV. — Of the obligation of the testator to provide for certain persons in his testament.
Tit. V. — Of the acquisition of inheritances.
Tit. VI. — Of the legal remedies to obtain what is bequeathed (*Hereditatis petitio, Quorum Bonorum, etc.*).
Tit. VII. — Of the causes which may invalidate last wills; of the loss of hereditary rights; and of *bona vacantia*.

Book V. — Restitutio in Integrum.

Introduction. — General Principles.
Tit. I. — Legal remedies, on account of minority, error, force, fraud, and absence.
Tit. II. — Legal remedies for analogous cases (ex clausula generali).

No. V.

PLAN OF THE BOSTON SEMINARY.

The plan of a new literary Institution, to be established in Boston, has been suggested by a number of parents and friends of education, who have felt the importance of being able to procure for their sons a more complete course of instruction than they can now find for them, without sending them from home.

The establishment of such an Institution in Boston seems desirable, not only for the inhabitants, but also for parents not residing in the city, as they can easily, in so large a place, find suitable families, in which their sons may continue to experience all the blessings, encouragements, and restraints of domestic life, while they enjoy the advantages of a liberal education. This opportunity of uniting the benefits

of domestic and public education supersedes, in a great measure, the artificial system of discipline, which a more isolated Institution requires. Besides this general advantage belonging to a large town, there are many social, literary, and moral influences, which must prove beneficial to a seminary of learning established in Boston.

It is a leading object of the Boston Seminary to give a liberal education to young men who are not destined to the professions, and who do not desire instruction in the ancient languages. It is indeed intended to furnish thorough instruction in these languages to all who desire it; but, at the same time, the Institution will afford as great advantages to those pupils who prefer other studies, as if it were established for their benefit alone.

The Seminary will afford sufficient means of instruction in all the important branches of a *general*, *classical*, and *practical* education.

The principal branches to be taught in the Boston Seminary are,—

Mathematics and the Physical Sciences, including Mechanics, Astronomy, and Natural Philosophy.

The Ancient and Modern Languages and Literature, viz. Greek and Latin, German, French, Spanish, and Italian.

History and Geography.

Mental and Moral Philosophy.

The evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion.

Composition and Elocution.

Penmanship and Book-keeping.

Drawing.

The departments of learning will be multiplied in proportion to the number of pupils and the various pursuits for which they may wish to qualify themselves.

There will be four principal Teachers in whom the whole control of the Seminary will be vested, viz. the Teacher of History and Moral Philosophy, the Teacher of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, the Teacher of English Literature and Composition, the Teacher of the Ancient Languages.

In each of the four principal departments, such assistant Teachers will be employed as the number of scholars may require.

To the more advanced classes, Lectures on Natural History (including Geology and Mineralogy, Botany, and Zoology), Chemistry, Technology, and the Principles and History of Commerce, will be delivered by competent teachers.

The Modern Languages will be taught by natives of the countries where they are spoken.

Writing and Book-keeping, as well as Mathematical and Ornamental Drawing, will be taught by competent instructers.

The Students, with the consent of their parents or guardians, will have a right to choose what branches of study they will pursue; but full and steady employment will be given them in the studies they may select.

They will be carried on in these branches, partly by regular instruction, and partly by directing them in a course of private study to any extent they may desire.

In every case in which the studies to be pursued by a pupil are not determined by his parent or guardian, a course of instruction, suited to the capacity of the scholar and to the employment for which he wishes to fit himself, will be marked out by the Instructers.

The students will be carried forward according to their talents and industry, so that the more advanced may not be retarded by others, and the less advanced may not lose the benefit of elementary instruction.

There will be no artificial system of rank, or scale of merit, founded upon the relative attainments of the students.

The elementary instruction in the Ancient Languages and Mathematics will be such as to fit the pupils for the different classes of the principal colleges in this country, as well as for prosecuting the same studies in the Seminary.

Every student who leaves the Seminary may obtain a general certificate of his conduct, and a special one for each branch of study which he has pursued and finished. This special certificate shall contain a statement of the amount of knowledge he has evinced at a previous strict examination.

All sectarian or party influence whatever will be strictly excluded from the Seminary.

Admonition and Dismission from the Seminary will be the only punishments for misconduct.

There will be two vacations, one in Summer of six weeks, and one in Winter of four weeks.

The proper time for entering the Institution is the beginning of each of the two semiannual terms.

No students will be received for a less time than one year.

Every one who wishes to leave the Institution is required to give notice three months before the end of the year; otherwise he pays for the following semiannual term.

Terms for instruction in all the branches taught in the Seminary, $200 a year. One half of this sum is to be paid in advance, at the beginning of each of the semiannual terms.

No pupils will be received under twelve years of age.

The Teachers of the Seminary will assist parents who reside at a distance, and desire it, in finding suitable boarding-places for their sons.

The Seminary will go into operation when sixty pupils are engaged.

In order to keep the community, and particularly the parents and guardians of the pupils, fully acquainted with the proceedings of the Seminary, and in order to give the Teachers continual opportunity of consulting the wishes of its friends, it is proposed that those who send pupils to the Seminary, or in other ways promote its interests, should appoint a Committee of Gentlemen, whose duty it shall be to visit the Seminary, and to communicate to the principal Teachers such observations and suggestions as they may think calculated to increase the usefulness of the Institution.

It will be the constant aim of the Teachers to exert a salutary moral influence over their pupils. They will strive to make the several studies occasions of just moral impressions, as far as their nature will admit. They will particularly labor to establish such relations between themselves and their pupils, and such relations among their pupils to one another, and to offer such motives to application, as will cherish good affections, manly sentiments, a principle of justice, a love of knowledge for its best uses, and a desire to apply it to the service of mankind.

The founders of this Institution rely on no patronage beyond what may be secured by their faithfulness. It is established wholly at their own risk. They cannot therefore commence it without some evidence of the disposition of the public to sustain them. They have thus thought fit to propose this plan; and request parents and guardians, who wish to place pupils under their care, to give notice by subscription, or by applying to Professor Charles Follen, Cambridge; or Mr. Richard H. Dana, Cambridge; or Mr. Francis J. Grund, Boston.

Boston, October 14th, 1834.

No. VI.

SPEECH BEFORE THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society, January 20th, 1836, Rev. Professor Follen offered the following resolution:

Resolved, that we consider the Anti-slavery cause as the cause of philanthropy, with regard to which all human beings; white men and colored men, citizens and foreigners, men and women, have the same duties and the same rights.

Philanthropy means the love of man; and the love of man is the true and only foundation of the Anti-slavery cause. Our whole creed is summed up in this single position, that the slave is a man, created by God in his own image, and, therefore, by divine right, a freeman. The slave is a man, and we are men; this is the only needful and all-sufficient title, from which every Anti-slavery society, and every Abolitionist, derive their duties and their rights. Every human being, whether colored or white, foreigner or citizen, man or woman, is, in virtue of a common nature, a rightful and responsible defender of the natural rights of all. These are the sentiments of every Abolitionist: these the principles of the Declaration of Independence, which was intended to make this whole nation one great Anti-slavery Society.

Professor Follen observed, that these self-evident truths had been opposed in full by the consistent enemies of human freedom, and obstructed in detail by its inconsistent friends.

In the first place, we have been advised, if we really wish to benefit the slave and the colored race generally, not unnecessarily to shock the feelings, though they be but prejudices, of the white people, by admitting colored persons to our anti-slavery meetings and societies. We have been told, that many, who would otherwise act in union with us, are kept away by our disregard of the feelings of the community in this respect.

Grant the fact, that this piece of bad policy in us keeps away many who would otherwise be with us at this time, in this hall, or in some other more spacious room, which their personal influence might open to our holy cause, which still has to go begging from the door of one Christian church to another, without finding admission. But what, I would ask, is the great, the single object of all our meetings and

societies? Have we any other object, than to impress upon the community this one principle, that *the colored man is a* MAN? And, on the other hand, is not the prejudice, which would have us exclude colored people from our meetings and societies here, the same which, in the Southern States, dooms them to perpetual bondage? It needs no long argument, then, to prove, that, by excluding the colored people from our anti-slavery proceedings, we should not only deprive ourselves of many faithful fellow-laborers, but, by complying with that inhuman prejudice, we should sanction and support the first principles of slavery, as well as give the lie to our own most solemn professions. In his private intercourse, in his personal and domestic relations, let every one choose his company according to his own principles, or his own whims. But, as for any meetings and associations designed for the establishment of *human rights*, — how can we have the effrontery to expect the white slave-holder of the South to live on terms of civil equality with his colored slave, if we, the white Abolitionists of the North, will not admit colored freemen as members of our anti-slavery societies?

This may be sufficient to vindicate the first part of my resolution, claiming for colored men and white men that essential equality of rights and duties with regard to the Anti-slavery cause, which should lead to united action.

In the second place, I assert, that, with regard to this cause, foreigners and citizens have the same duties and the same rights.

Professor Follen observed, that, in defending this clause in his resolution, he felt, or rather he had been made to feel, as if he were, in part, speaking in self-defence. For, though he had come to this country for no other reason than to live under a government of equal laws, which was not to be found in Europe; and though for eleven years he had sustained the duties, and during five years possessed all the rights, of the citizens of this Republic, his devotion to the anti-slavery cause had been condemned, both in private and in public, on the grave and undeniable charge of his having been born in a foreign land. His active interest in this cause had become more extensively known by the "Address to the People of the United States," which he, as the chairman of a committee appointed for this purpose by the New England Anti-slavery Convention of 1834, had been called upon to draw up, and which, according to a vote of the Board of Managers, had been sent to every member of Congress. A copy of

this address had been returned to him by an unknown hand, with the words, "A foreigner should recollect the protection afforded him by the institutions of this country, when he undertakes to cast a firebrand among the people, by which they may be destroyed." Similar ingenious substitutes for argument, being rendered more striking by studied vulgarity, had appeared in some of our newspapers. For himself, he had nothing to offer to the distinguished few, who had, notwithstanding his rightful citizenship, insisted upon treating him as a foreigner, unless it were the plea, which had been entered for him by a generous friend, "that, though not a son of the Pilgrims, he was himself a Pilgrim."

I should have passed over, in silence, these petty vexations, as solitary exceptions to the uniform experience of generous confidence and kindness, which I have never ceased to enjoy in this community, if it were not for the great principle involved in these disagreeable trifles.

Our cause is the cause of man; therefore our watchword from the beginning has been, "Our country is the world, — our countrymen are all mankind." We reverence patriotism as a virtue, so far as it is philanthropy applied to our own country, while we look down upon it as a vice, so far as it would sacrifice the rights of man, — the moral to the selfish interests of our nation. The anti-slavery cause, then, being the cause of man, knows no difference between natives and foreigners. Nay, more, we have here amongst us large numbers of natives of this country, deprived, without a shadow of right, of the fruits of their labor, stripped of the sacred rights of husbands and wives, parents and children, citizens and Christians; we see them daily driven out to merciless toil, sold like beasts, imprisoned, lacerated, and degraded without redress. Now when we see many millions of our countrymen, yea, the priests and the rulers of the people, going on in their own course of prosperity, and, without pity, passing by an innocent brother, stripped of every thing, and wounded in soul and body; and perchance there should be journeying this way a foreigner, who should have compassion on him, and try to lift him up, and pour into his wounds the oil of consolation and the wine of hope, or, from the rich treasury of his heart, should pour out the pure gold of sterling truth to redeem him from bondage, — which of these, I ask, would be a neighbour to him who had been robbed and wounded?

And shall we, the favored citizens, on beholding such signal kindness, cry out with the Jews of old, "He is a Samaritan, and has a devil!"—or with our modern, national bigots,—"He is a foreigner; an English emissary; mob him! tar and feather him!"

We look upon the foreigner, who holds up before us the law of liberty, proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence, in opposition to the law of servitude, imposed and enforced by our free institutions upon one sixth of our population, as a true friend; and we see, in his open rebuke, the surest pledge of confidence in our love of truth and sense of justice. On the other hand, the violent attempts at preventing the free expression of sentiment on this great moral subject, by strangers or citizens,—the lawless, shameless, and merciless proceedings against all who are convicted or suspected of nothing worse than a consistent adherence to the first principles of the Declaration of Independence, seem to us more criminal when perpetrated or tolerated in this country than in any other, simply because we have "pledged our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor," to the support of the equal rights of all. Our Constitution has secured a government of law, freedom of conscience, the liberty of speaking and printing, to every citizen, nay, to every stranger sojourning amongst us. As citizens of the world, as members of the human family, as Christians, we look upon every one as a fellow-citizen, as a neighbour, who defends the rights, and respects the feelings, of all men; while he who does not see in every human being an equal and a brother, whether he be born here or elsewhere, he alone is regarded by us as a stranger and an enemy.

And now, Mr. President, I come to the last topic of my resolution. I maintain, that, with regard to the anti-slavery cause, men and *women* have the same duties and the same rights. The ground I take on this point is very plain. I wish to spare you, I wish to spare myself, the worthless and disgusting task of replying, in detail, to all the coarse attacks and flattering sophisms by which men have endeavoured to entice or to drive women from this and from many other spheres of moral action. "Go home and spin!" is the well-meaning advice of the domestic tyrant of the old school. "Conquer by personal charms and fashionable attractions!" is the brilliant career marked out for her by the idols and the idolaters of fashion. "Never step out of the bounds of decorum and the *customary* ways of doing good," is the sage advice of maternal caution. "Rule by obedience,"

submission away!" is the golden saying of the moralist poet, sanctioning female servitude, and pointing out a resort and compensation in female cunning. What with the fear of the insolent remarks about women, in which those of the dominant sex, whose bravery is the generous offspring of conscious impunity, are particularly apt to indulge, and with the still stronger fear of being thought unfeminine, — it is, indeed, a proof of uncommon moral courage, or of an overpowering sense of religious duty and sympathy with the oppressed, that a woman is induced to embrace the unpopular, unfashionable, obnoxious principles of the Abolitionists. Popular opinion, the habits of society, are all calculated to lead women to consider the place, the privileges, and the duties, which etiquette has assigned to them as their peculiar portion, as more important than those which nature has given them in common with men. Men have at all times been inclined to allow to women peculiar privileges, while withholding from them essential rights. In the progress of civilization and Christianity, one right after another has been conceded, one occupation after another has been placed within the reach of women. Still are we far from a practical acknowledgment of the simple truth, that the rational and moral nature of man is the foundation of all rights and duties, and that women as well as men are rational and moral beings. It is on this account that I look upon the formation of Ladies' anti-slavery societies as an event of the highest interest, not only for its direct beneficial bearing on the cause of emancipation, but still more as an indication of the moral growth of society. Women begin to feel, that the place which men have marked out for them is but a small part of what society owes to them, and what they themselves owe to society, to the whole human family, and to that Power to whom each and all are indebted and accountable for the use of the powers intrusted to them. It is, indeed, a consoling thought, that such is the providential adaptation of all things, that the toil and the sufferings of the slave, however unprofitable to himself, and however hopeless, are not wholly thrown away and vain; — that the master who has deprived him of the fruits of his industry, of every motive and opportunity for exercising his highest faculties, has not been able to prevent his exercising, unconsciously, a moral and spiritual influence all over the world, breaking down every unnatural restraint, and calling forth the simplest and deepest of all human emotions, the feeling of man for his fellow-man, and bringing out the strongest in-

tellectual and moral powers to his rescue. It is, indeed, natural, that the cry of misery, the call for help, that is now spreading far and wide, and penetrating the inmost recesses of society, should thrill, with peculiar power, through the heart of woman. For it is woman, injured, insulted woman, that exhibits the most baneful and hateful influences of slavery. But I cannot speak of what the free woman ought and must feel for her enslaved sister, — because I am overwhelmed by the thought of what we men, we, who have mothers, and wives, and daughters, should not only feel, but do, and dare, and sacrifice, to drain the marshes whose exhalations infect the moral atmosphere of society.

The remarks I have made in support of my resolution may be summed up in a few words. The only object of the anti-slavery societies is, to restore the slave to his natural rights. To promote this object, all human beings, white men and colored men, citizens and foreigners, men and women, have the same moral calling, simply because, in virtue of a common rational and moral nature, all human beings are in duty bound, and divinely authorized, to defend their own and each other's *natural rights*.

Our rights, our duties, with regard to the oppressed, require and authorize the use of all lawful and moral means, to accomplish the great object of deliverance. As members of this Union, we are debarred all direct political influence with regard to the legal existence of slavery in other States. But slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories, as well as the internal slave-trade, are evils within the reach of our Federal Legislature, and, consequently, within the control and responsibility of every citizen of the Union.

The guilt of the existence of slavery within the bounds of the Federal legislation, rests upon every citizen who is not exerting himself to the utmost, by free discussion and petitions to Congress, that this cruel and disgraceful inconsistency may be removed. But the sphere of moral action is not confined within the limits of our political rights. The North is connected with the South by numerous relations, which may be made so many channels of influence on the minds and consciences of the slave-holders. There are family connexions, commercial relations, political and religious interests, by which individuals of different States are brought in contact, and a continual intercourse is thus kept up between the free North and the slave-holding South. With all these means of private intercourse within our reach, we re-

quire no alteration in the Constitution, we demand no especial aid from Congress or from any State Legislature, to induce the slaveholders, by moral motives and by considerations of enlightened self-interest, to rid themselves of this great evil. We require of government nothing but to be protected in the exercise of one undoubted constitutional right, a right, which, as Gerrit Smith justly observes, has a deeper foundation than the Constitution which solemnly secures it, being grounded on the nature of man and the sovereign decree of his Creator. Let us dismiss all controversy concerning the exciting question, whether, or how far, the Constitution sanctions slavery; but let us assert and defend the freedom of communication by speaking, writing, and printing, which is the first requisite of the freeman, and the last hope of the slave. Slavery and free discussion, Sir, it is well known, cannot live together. They will quarrel until one of them quits the neighbourhood.

We claim freedom of communication with the slave-holder of the South, as well as with the advocates of slavery, and those who think themselves justified in their neutrality at the North. We contend with a national prejudice; we aim at a national reform. Every individual, who is free from the long-cherished and deep-rooted prejudice, which prevents the white men of the North, as well as those of the South, from looking upon the colored man as a man and a brother, is in duty bound to become a fellow-laborer in this work of reform. For this reason, our societies are founded, not on the exclusive principle of election, but on the broad, philanthropic ground of free admission; we elect no one, but cordially receive every one who may elect himself. Our audiences do not consist of select companies; but as the Report, which you have accepted, eloquently sets forth, in humble imitation of Jesus and the Apostles, we address all who have ears to hear and will hear.

We are told, we must not agitate this subject; — let it alone, and it will remedy itself. This is not the course of Providence. Such reformations are never accomplished without human means. God will not indulge us in our indolence, and do the work without our instrumentality.

The Declaration of Independence, so far as those in bonds are concerned, is a dead letter; and we must not rest from our labors until it is raised from the dead.

No. VII.

LIST OF SUBJECTS FOR THE JOURNAL TO BE ENTITLED "ALL SIDES."

Religion.

Religion and unbelief.
Miraculous and natural origin of Christianity.
Character and authority of the Bible.
Creeds and no creeds.
Forms of worship.
Unitarian and Trinitarian Christianity.
Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.
Arians and Humanitarians.
Different doctrines with regard to a future state.
Different Christian sects.
Direct influence of the Holy Spirit.
Revivals. Conversions.
Millennium.
Missions.
A learned ministry.
Sunday schools.
Proselytism.

Morals and Education.

Utilitarian doctrine.
Free agency and necessity.
Conscience, or moral sense.
Moral duties and legal obligations.
Self-love and the benevolent principle.
Education, private and public.
Associations and individual effort.
Parties in religion and politics.
Monitorial system.
Study of the classics.
Common and liberal education.
Principle of ambition and of emulation.
Public days, religious and political.

LAW AND POLITICS.

Natural rights of man, legal rights, freedom and slavery.

Democracy, aristocracy, monarchy.

Representative government, representation of men, of wealth, or of other interests.

Two chambers or one.

Free trade and the restrictive system.

Right of interfering in the affairs of other nations.

Political rights of women.

Universal suffrage.

War and peace, Congress of nations.

Prison discipline, solitary and social confinement.

Capital punishment.

Imprisonment for debt.

Pauper laws.

Common and individual property, inequality of property.

Wide and strict interpretation of the Constitution of the United States of America.

State rights and union.

Right of the State to tax the citizens for universal education, or for the support of Religion or general government.

Corporations.

Relative rights of husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant.

Wages, proportion to income. Wages of men and women.

Factories.

No. VIII.

PETITION FOR THE PARDON OF ABNER KNEELAND.

To his Excellency, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

THE undersigned respectfully represent, that they are informed, hat Abner Kneeland, of the city of Boston, has been found guilty of he crime of Blasphemy, for having published, in a certain newspaper alled "The Boston Investigator," his disbelief in the existence of od, in the following words:

"Universalists believe in a God which I do not; but believe that their God, with all his moral attributes, (aside from nature itself,) is nothing more than a chimera of their own imagination."

Your petitioners have learned, by an examination of the record and documents in the case, made by one of their number, that the conviction of said Kneeland, proceeded on the ground above stated. For though the indictment originally included two other publications, one of a highly irreverent, and the other of a grossly indecent character; yet, it appears by the Report, that, at the trial, the prosecuting officer mainly relied on the sentence above quoted, and that the Judge who tried the case, confined his charge wholly to stating the legal construction of its terms, and the law applicable to it.

In these circumstances, the undersigned respectfully pray, that your Excellency will grant to the said Kneeland an unconditional pardon, for the offence of which he has been adjudged guilty. And they ask this, not from any sympathy with the convicted individual, who is personally unknown to most or all of them; nor from any approbation of the doctrines professed by him, which are believed by your petitioners to be as pernicious and degrading as they are false: but

Because the punishment proposed to be inflicted is believed to be at variance with the spirit of our institutions and our age, and with the soundest expositions of those civil and religious rights which are at once founded in our nature, and guarantied by the constitutions of the United States and this Commonwealth;

Because the freedom of speech and the press is the chief instrument of the progress of truth and of social improvements, and is never to be restrained by legislation, except when it invades the rights of others, or instigates to specific crimes;

Because, if opinion is to be subjected to penalties, it is impossible to determine where punishment shall stop; there being few or no opinions, in which an adverse party may not see threatenings of ruin to the state;

Because truths essential to the existence of society must be so palpable as to need no protection from the magistrate;

Because the assumption by government of a right to prescribe or repress opinions has been the ground of the grossest depravations of religion, and of the most grinding despotisms;